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A

# HISTORY OF NEW YORK,

FOR

## SCHOOLS.

BY WILLIAM DUNLAP.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME

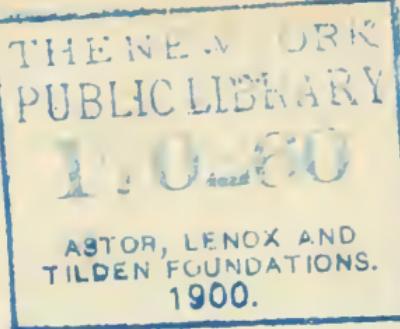
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OF

## THE SECOND VOLUME.

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## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

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THE author of the History of New York, for Schools, has long been engaged in collecting materials for a history of the city and environs, from the earliest period to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. His intention is, that the City of New York shall be the central point in his work, *the environs* a wide circuit, comprehending all that is connected with *that point*, or that can elucidate its history. This work he intends to publish by subscription; and it must necessarily be years before its accomplishment.

In the mean time, he presents these little volumes as precursors, in the hopes of inspiring the rising generation with a desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of their country, a love of her institutions, and a reverence for the men to whom they owe the blessings they enjoy. That these men may be known, they must be separated from the mass, which an indiscriminate tendency to applaud, or condemn, has generated. No one can appreciate Washington who is unacquainted with the characters of those who endeavoured to subvert him.

If this abridged work is adopted in our schools, the youth of New York will be prepared for the study of a more comprehensive history of the State; and it shall be the endeavour of the author to present it to the publick.

# HISTORY OF NEW YORK,

## FOR SCHOOLS.

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### CHAPTER I.

*The interlocutors of the second volume are three boys: John, aged fourteen; William, aged twelve; Philip, aged ten; and their Uncle, aged seventy-one.*

*John.* Now, sir, we are anxious to hear your account of the war of the revolution.

*Un.* The time that has passed since those events so interesting to Americans, has given an opportunity to the studious lover of truth for examining the various and oftentimes contradictory statements which the prejudiced, the misguided, the careless, and the honestly industrious have left us. It is only by assiduous study, and impartial comparison, that we can hope to arrive at the truth of any history. I shall give you my views of the men engaged in the warfare we have now to consider, and of the civil and military transactions of the time, after having weighed the evidence which I can find with as much critical sagacity as I possess, and with the cool deliberation that characterizes old age. You must all, as you advance in your studies, read and determine for yourselves. My aim is to point the way for your subsequent attainment of knowledge, and to remove some of the impediments in your path.

*John.* We are sure of *that*, sir.

*Un.* At the time of the stamp act, all America was united. In the ten years that followed, England had

sown the seeds of dissension among the colonists; so that in 1775, there were many who were ready to join the standard of Great Britain when it was displayed in hostility on our shores. Numbers of these were recent emigrants from the territories of England, and they were excited against the native colonists by the numerous governors and officers spread among them. We are now to see the result of these contending passions and interests. The collecting hordes of licentious troops at Boston, and the injuries inflicted on the people of Massachusetts, led, as we have seen, to preparations for resistance by arms; and the blood shed at Concord and Lexington was the signal for the most daring patriots to commence hostilities elsewhere. Some of the eastern men immediately saw the necessity of securing the military posts on Lake Champlain; and, crossing into the province of New York, they seized Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

*Wm.* I remember, sir, what Ethan Allen said when the officer who commanded at old "Ti," (as they called it,) asked him in whose name he demanded the surrender: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the continental congress," said he.

*Un.* He was a rough character; and his answer, though striking, and likely to be remembered, was not such as reverence to the name of the Creator, or just notions of his attributes, would have inspired in most men. Allen secured Ticonderoga, and Seth Warner seized on Crown Point.

*Wm.* These were the men who were so turbulent in the disputes with New York. But now, sir, we have come to the time of the battle of Bunker's hill; and I'm sure I always thought General Warren was the hero of that day; and I have read—

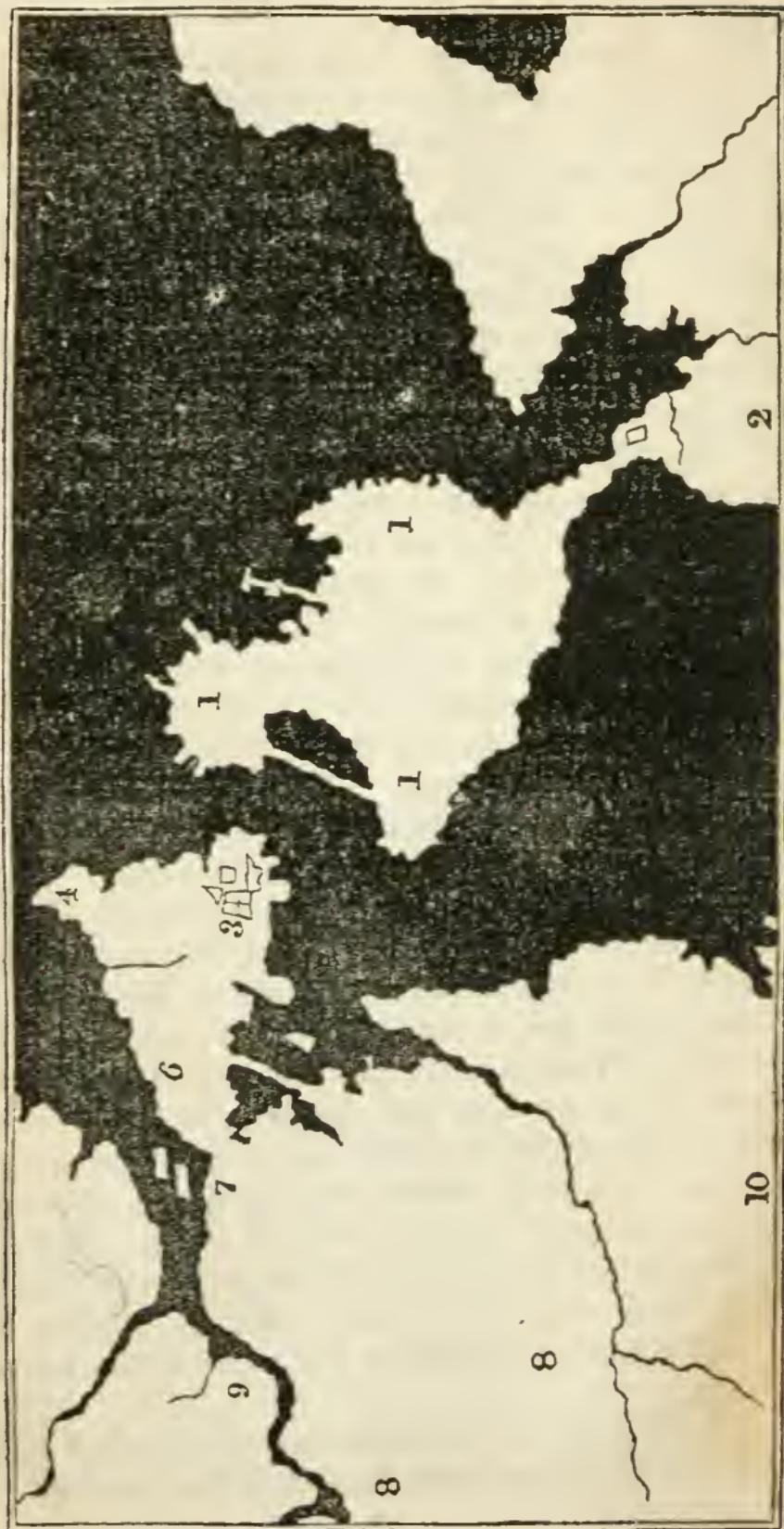
*Un.* No. As I have said, Colonel Prescott was the commander; there were many heroes.

*Wm.* But, Uncle—

*John.* Hush! surely Uncle knows best.

*Un.* This first battle, (for the affair of Lexington was a succession of skirmishes without order or design, only as the people rushed individually to avenge the cry of blood,) this first battle I have studied, collated the several accounts, and will give you the result of my deliberate inquiries. I believe you may depend upon the facts I shall state. I have made a little sketch for you that you may understand the relative situations of Boston and Bunker's hill: the English army, and the provincial forces. No. 2—Is the approach to Roxbury. Nos. 1, 1, and 1—Boston. No. 3—Charlestown. No. 4—Morton's point. No. 6—Bunker's hill; the line between 4 and 6 is Breede's hill, or the line of the battle. No. 7—Is Charlestown neck; and the white spots on each side are the English floating batteries. No. 9—Is the river Mystic. Nos. 8 and 8—American lines. No. 10—Cambridge. You see that Boston is on a peninsula, projected northward from the mainland at Roxbury. Another peninsula projects from the north, on which is Charlestown with Bunker's and Breede's hills. These hills overlook the north part of Boston, and are connected by an isthmus to the main land, on the north, as Boston is by another on the south. To the east is the harbour and the sea; to the west is water dividing the English army and the town, from the American troops at Cambridge, and the adjacent villages. On the 16th of June, 1775, it was determined by General Ward, (who commanded the provincials,) in council with his officers, to take possession of Bunker's hill, which you see is here.

*John.* Yes, sir, to the northward of Breede's hill, and nearer the Charlestown neck or the isthmus.



**Un.** Of course further from Boston. In consequence of this determination, Colonel William Prescott, of Peperill, a veteran officer, who had served in the French wars, and now commanded six or seven hundred militia, was sent with his regiment, and some additional men, among whom were one hundred and twenty Connecticut troops under Captain Knowlton, in all about one thousand, to take possession of, and throw up a redoubt on, Bunker's hill. At the head of his gallant yeomen, he, (dressed in his summer suit and morning gown,) departed from camp in the evening of the 16th of June, and by mistake, or willing to place his redoubt nearer to the enemy, passed over Bunker's hill and commenced operations on Breede's. These men, as well as those who afterward joined them under the veteran Starke, were in their ordinary dress, armed with guns of various calibres, to which they had to fit their bullets as they could, and they were scantily supplied with powder. Bayonets, of course, they had none. All night, though so near the English ships and troops, they worked undiscovered, and had thrown up a rude fortification by the dawn of day, when, as soon as they were seen, the cannon of the English were opened upon them, but with little or no effect, and they proceeded in finishing their redoubt. Prescott saw that the post would be disputed, and that not only fresh men, who were free from the effects of a night's watching and labour, would be wanted, but a greater number than were with him; he, therefore, sent Mr. Brooks (afterward governor of Massachusetts when an independent state) to Cambridge for a reinforcement. Brooks proceeded on foot, for no horse was with the detachment, and it was near noon before the additional troops arrived on the ground. They were commanded by Colonel Starke, who had, as well as Prescott, been an officer

of provincials in the former wars, and was destined to be famous afterward as the hero of Bennington. The troops under Starke had of course to pass over Charlestown neck to reach Breede's hill. Prescott and his command had crossed unseen in the night; but now the British ships and floating batteries cannonaded, with a cross fire, this only road by which Starke and his men could reinforce their comrades. The veteran led his soldiers on deliberately, notwithstanding this exposed situation; and being asked by a young officer if it would not be better to hasten the march, "the sooner to get out of the range of the enemy's shot?" Starke coolly answered, "one fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones."

*Wm. Huzza for brave Colonel Starke!*

*Un.* Starke and his companions found Prescott in the redoubt; which was square, with about sixty feet front towards Boston, and a breastwork of fifty or sixty feet extending to the left of the redoubt towards Mystic river, which you see here. Part of the British army had already crossed over from Boston in their boats under cover of a cannonade from their ships, and had landed at Morton's point, which you see here. Starke said a few words to his men, told them to give three cheers, and advance to a rail fence which extended farther still to the left. They plucked up another rail fence that was near, put them together, and filled up the vacancies with new mown grass, which they found at hand.

*John.* But this would not resist bullets.

*Un.* It served to give confidence to the men placed behind it, who could more deliberately take aim at an enemy. In the mean time, General Gage, the English commander-in-chief, had been pouring over his veteran troops from Boston to dislodge the Americans. Read that extract from his letter to the British government from which we know some partic-

ulars of this famous day. It is dated 25th June, 1775.

*John.* "An action happened on the 17th, between his majesty's troops and a large body of the rebel forces. The 'Lively' ship of war gave the alarm at daybreak. The rebels were plainly seen at work raising a battery on the heights of Charlestown against the town of Boston. In a few hours a battery from Boston played upon their works."

*Un.* That was from Cop's hill, here, on the north side of Boston.

*John.* "Ten companies of grenadiers, ten companies of light infantry, with the fifth, thirty-eighth, forty-third, and fifty-second battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigott, were embarked and landed without opposition; the rebels being kept within their works by the fire of some ships of war."

*Un.* And he might have added that the Americans had no artillery, and kept their musket balls for close fight. Go on.

*John.* "The troops formed as soon as landed; the light infantry on the right; the grenadiers on the left; two battalions behind them, and two more in a third line."

*Un.* Thus you see the light infantry would be opposed to the rail fence, and the grenadiers to the redoubt. Read on.

*John.* What follows seems to be a memorandum made by you, sir.

*Un.* Read it.

*John.* "Gage represents the rebels as being in great force, and his veterans as waiting for reinforcements. After the arrival of a second detachment from Boston, he says, 'the troops formed in two lines, advanced and commenced the attack by a sharp cannonade from their field pieces; the lines

frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry were directed to force the left point of the breastwork, to take the rebel line in flank; the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the fifth and fifty-second battalions.' All this was executed 'with perseverance'; and the rebels forced from their 'strong holds'; but he says nothing of the repeated repulses his veteran forces met with.'

*Un.* You see by this with what a powerful array of the finest troops in the world, accompanied by field artillery, the commander-in-chief acknowledges that the attack was made; and we know that it was directed on raw, half-armed provincials, defending a paltry redoubt thrown up in a few hours, and a rail fence stuffed with grass. Previous to the commencement of the battle, Doctor Warren joined Prescott in the redoubt; who knowing that this distinguished gentleman had been appointed a general by the *provincial congress* of Massachusetts, (then sitting at Watertown, and of which he had been president,) asked him if he came to take the command; and was answered in the negative. He said that he was not commissioned; that he came to serve under him as a volunteer. Gen. Putnam who had been at the redoubt in the morning, had gone back for reinforcements; and appears to have been, during the action, stationed in the rear, and on or near Bunker's hill.

*John.* So that Prescott was the commanding officer.

*Un.* Undoubtedly. But his attention appears to have been given to the defence of the redoubt; while Starke commanded at the rail fence, and along the line to the Mystic river. General Charles Lee, whose opinion on this subject is entitled to high consideration, mentions Starke, Prescott, Little, Gardner, Nixon, and two gentlemen of the name of Brewer, as deserving immortal honour on this oc-

casion ; but is silent with respect to men who were by the vulgar considered the heroes of the day. Both Prescott and Starke cautioned their respective companions not to return the fire of their adversaries until within a short distance of the line of defence, and then to take deliberate aim ; this was strictly attended to ; and when the regular troops had advanced, giving their volleys in systematick order by platoons with little effect, and had reached the distance prescribed by Prescott and Starke, a most deadly fire was opened from the Americans, which strewed the field with killed and wounded ; and appears to have been so unexpected and appalling that the British forces broke in a few minutes and retreated towards the landing-place. In a short time these disciplined troops were again formed, and again advanced. They attempted more than once to turn the left flank of the provincials near the river, but Starke had, in the time allowed by the retreat of the enemy, thrown up a rough work of stones near the beach, behind which a portion of his men lay ready to receive the attack. Again their well directed fire, and the irregular but constant discharge along the line, caused their adversaries to retire with precipitation. Meanwhile a part of the English army had entered Charlestown, and set fire to it, so effectually, that of some hundred buildings, including the church, only a few houses escaped the conflagration. The cannonading of the ships of war, the flames and smoke of the burning town, the conflict along the line from the redoubt to the Mystic river, afforded to the spectators on the hills, steeples, and housetops of Boston, a spectacle of the most imposing and awful nature.

*Wm.* It was glorious !

*John.* Was it not dreadful, sir ?

*Un.* Indeed it was. During this contest, by a

chance shot, fell the highly talented Doctor Warren; a man fitted to guide the councils of his country, or to second her best and bravest in the field.

*John.* Ought he to have been there, sir?

*Un.* His motive, doubtless, was to encourage others; and his presence might have that effect. In another part of this terrible conflict was observed a British officer on horseback, the only one so distinguished on the field. His elevation made him conspicuous, and the certain aim of the Yankee yeomanry brought him to the earth a corpse pierced with balls. This was Major Pitcairn; the man by whose orders the first blood was shed at Concord. The carnage of this attack, defence, and retreat, may be estimated by the fact, that of three brothers, the captain and two subalterns of the grenadier company of the forty-seventh regiment, (Wolfe's own,) not one escaped the balls of the despised Americans. I knew them all.

*John.* All killed, sir?

*Un.* All borne off the field bleeding; but they all recovered from their wounds. These defeats could not discourage the disciplined soldiers of Britain; and a third time with another reinforcement from Boston, they advanced, and forced the redoubt, where Prescott and his comrades could only resist by a feeble fire, for the men's ammunition was exhausted, and their muskets were without bayonets; they fought with their clubbed firearms, and retired when their brave commander ordered a retreat. The left of the American line was likewise broken, and retired, under cover of a brave company of Connecticut men, directed by a young hero—Captain Knowlton. They covered the retreat on the left; and with a loss, trifling in comparison to that of the victors, these brave men left the field to be mourned over by their conquerors.

*Wm.* I think we had the best of it!

*Un.* True, boy, it was so. It was in its consequences altogether in favour of the American cause. It discouraged their adversaries, and has been from that time to this a rallying word and a source of just confidence to all Americans. I have thought the particulars of this event necessary to your knowledge of the subsequent details of the war, when it approached our own city. But we must pass over the remainder of the siege or blockade of Boston. You will read of it especially in General Washington's letters, for in August of this year he took the command at Cambridge.

*John.* I know, sir, the English were driven from Boston and soon after came to New York. How many men did we lose, sir, at Bunker's hill?

*Un.* In the return of killed and wounded on the 17th of June, 1775, I find it stated that Starke's New Hampshire regiment lost fifteen killed, forty-five wounded. Of the Connecticut men, under Knowlton, fifteen were killed and thirty wounded. The Massachusetts men, under Prescott, who defended the redoubt, lost forty-two killed and twenty-eight wounded. Most of these last were bayoneted or shot after their ammunition was expended, and they had only the butts of their guns to defend themselves with. When next we meet I will tell you what happened in this neighbourhood.

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## CHAPTER II.

*John.* Uncle, we have heard a great deal of Lieutenant-governor Colden; what became of him when the war commenced?

*Un.* He was then a very old gentleman, and retired to his country-seat near Flushing, Long Island, where he died on the 28th of September, 1776, at the advanced age of eighty-nine.

*Wm.* He must have seen a great deal in that long life.

*Un.* In what has occurred relative to Mr. Colden during our story, we have only seen him as a politician, and a king's officer, in very turbulent times; and he did his duty conscientiously no doubt, but unhappily for him it was opposed to the wishes and interests of the people he governed. In his private life he was eminently estimable, and as a literary and scientifick character ranked among the first who visited or resided in America.

*John.* Was he not an American, sir?

*Un.* No. He was born in Scotland in the year which placed William of Nassau on the throne of England. What year was that?

*John.* Sixteen hundred and eighty-eight.

*Un.* He was educated as a physician, and coming to America in 1710, he practised physick with success in Philadelphia. He returned to Great Britain, married in his native land, and brought his bride to New York in 1718. His scientifick acquirements recommended him to Governor Hunter, who appointed him surveyor-general, and he held the office of master in chancery. Governor Burnet, in 1720, chose him as one of his council, and as we have seen, he had a large share in governing the province for England from that time forward. But Doctor Colden was an active student of natural history, and the correspondent of most of the scientifick men of Europe and America as a philosopher. He has left us many works; among which those on botany, the diseases of America, and others of this nature are less known than his celebrated "History of

the Five Indian Nations," the Iroquois, who held during his time so large a portion of what is now the great State of New York.

*John.* Then, sir, we are much indebted to Governor Colden.

*Un.* I should say more to Doctor Colden than to the governor. Be that as it may, let us remember him rather in his scientifick and private, than in his political character; and as such, honour the memory of Cadwallader Colden. He was the ruler of the province during a part of 1775, owing to the absence of Governor Tryon; but his rule was not much more than nominal. For now the people paid more heed to their congresses and committees than to any other authorities. While the important events took place in the neighbourhood of Boston of which we have spoken, the inhabitants of New York were alarmed by threats of further aggressions. Regiments were expected from England, and the Asia man-of-war had been ordered from Boston, and anchored off the Battery, in the North river, as if to overawe the city. The troops that had been stationed at New York and in New Jersey had all been withdrawn and concentrated in Boston. But threats and rumours of other regiments intended for this city were propagated, while for the present the seventy-four gun ship was supposed to be sufficient to keep the Sons of Liberty quiet.

*Wm.* I dare say they found themselves in a mistake.

*Un.* They were so. The first *outbreak* that I find mentioned, happened in April, when Marinus Willet and John Lamb led or authorized a party of "Liberty boys" to seize a vessel loaded with boards for the British army in Boston. There was likewise a popular meeting, at which Captain Sears made a motion for every man to provide himself

with four-and-twenty rounds of powder and ball. Sears was taken with a warrant and carried before the Mayor. As he defied the authority of the king's officer he was ordered to jail, but the people rescued him, and carried him in triumph through the town with colours flying. A few days after this the account was received of the bloodshed at Concord and Lexington. Upon this the committee called upon the inhabitants to perfect themselves in military discipline, and each man to provide himself with arms and accoutrements. They likewise addressed the lieutenant-governor, and expressed their determined resistance to the measures of the British parliament. He, in his answer, assures them of the gracious intentions of his majesty and his ministers, and complains of the tumults in the city.

*John.* I suppose, sir, the people did not rely upon his majesty's gracious intentions.

*Un.* They continued their preparations for resistance. Arms and accoutrements were manufactured and exposed for sale. A night guard of forty men was ordered to be kept at the city hall. This guard seized several persons who were sending off provisions to the English ships. Notwithstanding all these military indications of resistance, the continental congress recommended to the citizens of New York, in the case of arrival of British troops, to permit them to take possession of the barracks, and leave them in quiet while they behaved peaceably, but not to permit them to erect fortifications. They likewise recommended that the warlike stores should be removed from the town, and places of retreat provided for the women and children. They directed that the men should be imbodyed and kept in readiness to repel insult or injury. This is signed, Charles Thompson. Soon after this, Peyton Randolph, the president of the continental congress, retired to at-

tend the assembly of Virginia, and John Hancock was appointed in his place. The provincial congress sat in the city of New York, and the great committee nominated Mr. Isaac Sears to represent the city and county instead of George Folliot, "who declined serving." William Bedlow and John Woodward are nominated members of the committee instead of George Folliot and Samuel Jones, "they having never attended;" and the poll is ordered to be opened for election. Signed, Henry Remsen.

*John.* It appears that at this time there were two governments in New York.

*Un.* Yes. The king's lieutenant-governor and the king's council existed in this city; as did the mayor and common council under the king's authority; and Governor Tryon was hourly expected from England. But the people, in reality, governed by their representatives in congress and committees. The provincial congress recommended the formation of committees in all the counties, and arming all the men. On the 21st of June, General Halldiman, a Swiss officer, who had formerly commanded the British forces in the province, arrived at New York from Boston, and next day Rivington gives in his gazette an account of the exchange of prisoners taken at Lexington. Doctor Warren and General Putnam conducted the English prisoners, under an escort of the Weathersfield company, to the Charlestown ferry, and Major Moncrief landed from the Lively ship of war, to receive them and return Americans for them. This Major Moncrief was an officer of engineers, and connected by marriage with some of our most estimable citizens. It is said that the English officers and wounded men expressed a grateful sense of the humane and kind treatment they had received; but the Americans who

were exchanged for them, could not return the compliment, but complained of insults.

*John.* Was it not about this time, sir, that the continental congress chose General Washington to be commander-in-chief of the American armies?

*Un.* Two days before the battle of Bunker's hill, that is, on the 15th of June, 1775, congress, by a unanimous vote, made this most happy choice of a man who was as good as he was great—as wise as he was valiant. On the 16th the task was accepted, and George Washington, being at the time a representative from his native state, Virginia, rose in his place, and acquiesced in the will of his country. Pay he rejected; but said he would keep accounts of his expenses, and require the country to discharge them. It had been long foreseen that he would be called to this post of honour, difficulty, and danger. On the 4th of June, Mr. Elbridge Gerry had expressed his wish that Washington should be "Generalissimo." Before he left home it was well known where the choice of his country would fall, and that he must accept the call. Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, both known to him as men of military experience, visited him at Mount Vernon, and even then had in view his influence to obtain for them the commissions they soon after held. Washington knew that the armies he was destined to command needed disciplinarians; he knew that Lee and Gates possessed the intelligence and experience required. He nominated Charles Lee for a major-general, and Horatio Gates for adjutant-general, of the continental armies. John Adams had his prophetick fears of both these foreign officers. He only gave his vote for them in consequence of the wish of the Southern colonies, and "the earnest desire of General Washington to have the assistance of these officers." Mr. Sparks, in a book you must all read.

says, "it is remarkable that Washington should have been himself the chief instrument in promoting two officers, who at different stages of the war, caused him much embarrassment, trouble, and pain." He might with equal truth have said, "who throughout the whole war endeavoured to villify his qualities, thwart his measures, and destroy his credit with his countrymen."

*John.* This all appears new to me, sir.

*Un.* After I have mentioned some local affairs appertaining to our city, I will give the characters, as shown by their actions, up to this time, of these men, and some others who are prominent in American history. But New York requires our first attention. General Washington, as soon as possible after his appointment, commenced his journey to Cambridge, for the purpose of taking command of the troops there assembled. Our city was to be passed in his way; and it is somewhat curious in her history that Governor Tryon, the English commander-in-chief of the city and province, should have arrived in the harbour, and be expected to land in the capital of his government on the same day, the 25th of June, that General Washington, the commander-in-chief of the armies of the whole continent raised in opposition to Tryon's master and government, was likewise expected to land on the opposite side of the city. Tryon was looked for on the east side of the town with his suite of red-coated attendants. While Washington was known to be approaching to cross the Hudson and land on the west shore, escorted by Generals Lee and Schuyler, with a deputation of four members from the New York provincial congress, a political body that had in effect seized upon all Mr. Tryon's authority, at the same time that they professed allegiance to his sovereign. We have seen that Governor Tryon

had left the province by command of his majesty, to give an account of the troubles in the borders of his government, and he returned to find greater in the centre. The members of the provincial congress were puzzled by these expected arrivals, and to get rid of the difficulty, ordered the commander of the regiment of militia that had turned out to honour the visit of General Washington, so to dispose of his troops, as to be in condition to receive either the American commander-in-chief, or the king's deputy, as the one party or the other should have precedence in landing. Happily, General Washington arrived some hours before the governor, or else the colonel must have been bowing two ways at once; something like an attempt to serve God and mammon at the same time. General Washington staid but one day in New York. He departed on the 26th, and was escorted on his way to Cambridge, as far as Kingsbridge, by several military companies of the city, and by the Philadelphia lighorse, who had accompanied him from the seat of congress. Tryon landed at eight o'clock in the evening of the 25th, and was received with due respect by the militia, and great cordiality by the loyalists; he was conducted to the house of the honourable Hugh Wallace, one of his majesty's counsellors. The mayor and common council presented to him a congratulatory address, and received his answer in due form. On the other hand, the provincial congress of New York addressed General Washington in terms somewhat cautious. They spoke of "the most loyal of his majesty's subjects" being "under the necessity of taking up arms." Of their confidence in the general, and "hopes of liberty from the struggle," &c. It was signed by P. V. B. Livingston, president. This is a copy of the general's answer. Read it, John.

*John.* "New York, 26th June, 1775. Gentlemen: At the same time that with you I deplore the unhappy necessity of such an appointment as that with which I am now honoured, I cannot but feel sentiments of the highest gratitude for this affecting instance of distinction and regard."

*Wm.* I do not understand, sir.

*Un.* The instance of distinction and regard, is his appointment to the chief command.

*John.* "May your every wish be realized in the success of America at this important and interesting period; and be assured that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself will be equally extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the mother country and the colonies, as to the fatal but necessary operations of war. When we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour when the establishment of American liberty, upon the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country."

*Un.* In their address the provincial congress of New York had given the general a broad hint that they considered the power intrusted to him liable to future misuse; at the same time saying, they have the "fullest assurance, that whenever this important contest shall be decided," he "will cheerfully resign the important deposite committed into" his "hands, and resume the character of our worthiest citizen."

*John.* Washington then made a promise which he honestly performed.

*Un.* He did, boy. We shall see that in all his actions he was the sincere and honest patriot.

## CHAPTER III.

*Un.* General Washington proceeded to Cambridge, and took the command of the forces blockading Boston. By great skill and perseverance he finally expelled the enemy from that part of the country. In the mean time war was approaching New York, and threatening her destruction. The provincial congress requested the aid of Connecticut, and in July, General Wooster marched a body of men from that province and encamped at Haerlem.

*John.* Where were the militia of our province, and General Schuyler?

*Un.* That gentleman had sufficient employment in the north, for in addition to the care of the expedition against Canada, he had to guard against the tories, who were numerous in several of the counties; and Sir John Johnson was arming the highlanders, and others, his tenants or dependants, as well as the Indians, who looked to him as their leader. Some of the people of the city seem to have had great dread of the guns of the Asia man-of-war, at the same time that others committed acts of hostility whenever her boats were beyond protection of her guns. On one occasion they destroyed the ship's barge; but the magistrates had another built to replace it. This, when finished, was likewise destroyed; upon which the provincial congress publish the following: "Resolved, whereas, the barge ordered to be built to replace the one belonging to his majesty's ship Asia, lately destroyed, was, when finished, sawed to pieces, in the night by some disorderly persons," the magistrates are required to procure another "to be built in this city," and all persons are enjoined to forbear from injuring it. Whether this was complicated with does not appear, but soon after the above re-

solve something like open hostilities commenced between the man-of-war and the citizens. The provincial congress having directed that the cannon should be removed from the Battery, Captain Lamb with his company, and a number of the people, armed and unarmed, proceeded thither on the night of the 23d August, and while part remained under arms others were busy in accomplishing the work intended. The redoubted Asia lay off with her broadside presented to the town, and her barge was perceived nearer in shore, as if watching the motions of those on the Battery. It will be recollect that Tryon was permitted to remain on shore, and had been received with honours and compliments on his arrival. From his agents the captain of the man-of-war knew all that passed. A musket was discharged from the English barge, which drew a volley upon her from the shore, and killed one of her crew. The barge pushed for the ship, and on her arrival, a cannonading with eighteen and twenty-four pounders commenced; first, as stated, three guns, and then a broadside. The houses near the Battery were riddled, but little further damage done; and the citizens finished the work of removing all the guns.

*John.* This must have alarmed the town, sir.

*Un.* It did. The drums beat to arms; the men turned out, many supposing the expected forces of the enemy were landing. The women and children fled for safety, some that night and many more next day. On the 24th, the day after this cannonade, Captain Vandeput, commander of the Asia, sent a letter to Whitehead Hicks, esquire, the mayor of the city, and the magistrates, saying, that having information of the intention to remove the guns, he sent a boat to lie near shore and watch; that the officer having command, seeing the movements on shore, left his station to give notice according to or-

ders, and had been fired upon and one of the men "shot dead." "My duty," he proceeds, "called upon me to repel an attack of this sort, as well as to defend the guns, which occasioned me to fire upon the Battery." He says he does not wish to do hurt, but if the people "persist in behaving in such a manner," the mischief "must be at their doors." On the same day, the gallant Captain Vandeput (not considering that the mayor must call together the corporation, have his letter read to them, and take their sense on it before returning an answer,) despatched another manifesto to the city authorities, repeating the complaints of the first, requiring "due satisfaction" "for these high misdemeanors;" and threatening that if an answer to this second warning is not returned "as soon as may reasonably be expected," he "shall take such measures as may seem necessary." The mayor, that afternoon, by letter, promises him an answer next morning; but before he has time so to do, receives a third epistle from the impatient warriour, dated the 25th, requiring an answer "on the receipt of this." Mr. Hicks, in return, complains of the shot fired from the boat, and states that the firing from the shore was only in return. The captain immediately replies that the shot from his boat, was a signal gun to the ship; that it is his duty to defend every part of the king's stores; and to the mayor's assertion that he could not see how it was the captain's duty to fire upon the city, nor account for his inducement "half an hour after the return of his boat, and the removal of the cannon, for firing a broadside on the town at large," Vandeput, in reply, says, the broadside was fired because he heard huzzas, and to prevent the removal of the guns, and not to injure the city. He, however, says he shall persist in his duty, but if

"possible avoid doing hurt to any one." A very harmless kind of threat, surely.

*John.* But I think when a cannon ball is discharged into a town full of women and children, it is too late to bid it do no "hurt to any one."

*Un.* On the 29th of August, the provincial congress issue an order saying, that in consequence of the Asia's firing upon the town and wounding three "of his majesty's subjects," and doing other injuries, Mr. Abraham Lott, the contractor supplying his majesty's navy, do send said supplies to Governor's Island, to be taken from thence by the ship's crew. And no person is to interrupt such supplies; and congress will pursue every prudent and proper measure to obtain redress and prevent further injury.

*John.* The provincial congress seem to be very cautious, sir?

*Un.* The situation of the town was critical. It was filled with the friends of Tryon and England, and threatened by the guns of the Asia. It appears that there were other English ships in the harbour; for on the first of September, I find it stated, "that a boat being perceived coming from a transport in the North river, with two negroes, and two white men," the people waited her arrival and carried the whites to the congress. The negroes said they were free, and hired to carry some persons on board the ship. They were discharged with one of the whites, the other was kept prisoner; and the boat was dragged to "the commons" and burnt. Immediately after this the provincial congress order that no provisions be carried to the navy or army of the ministry; and threaten punishment, at the discretion of any committee, upon those guilty of encouraging the enemy. And a sloop from "little Esopus," having come down the river and gone to the Asia; on her departure she was followed, captured, and burnt. On the

other hand, the British landed upon and swept Gardner's Island of all the stock they could find.

*Wm.* More and more like war!

*Un.* Still, however, the king's governor remained in New York, or the neighbourhood, and the common council seemed to wish his continuance, although it was known that he was encouraging resistance to the American cause. On the 13th of October, Tryon, in consequence of some notification, or suspicion, wrote to the mayor, saying that the continental congress had recommended to the provincial congress of New York to seize him; and he places himself under the protection of the mayor and corporation. At the same time he threatens that if he is made prisoner, Captain Vandeput of the Asia would demand him and enforce the demand. To avoid this, he says, if it is the wish of the citizens, he will embark, and requests that any interruption to his embarkation, or the removal of his property, may be prevented. He was answered, that upon his letter being read, the "members of the corporation expressed themselves in terms of the strongest affection" to him, and are disinclined to his removal "from the capital of the province; that "the city committee desire the continuance of his residence;" and the mayor adds, "I have not the least doubt of your enjoying the most ample protection."

*John.* But had not the war commenced?

*Un.* Certainly. At Lexington and Bunker's hill. At Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen had captured the English garrison, and was at this time himself captured and in irons, as a rebel, in Montreal. All this Tryon knew, and he therefore replied, the same day, to Mr. Hicks, that as the citizens had not authorized the mayor to pledge to him "their assurances of security," his duty to his sovereign will not justify him in staying on shore unless he has positive declarations

of full protection "under every circumstance." The mayor tells him he will consult the committee, and adds, that "people of all ranks" express great anxiety that he should not leave the city. On the 17th October, the committee authorize the mayor to assure Tryon that they "are not apprehensive of the least danger to his person or property," and add, he may be assured of all that protection from us and our fellow-citizens which will be consistent with the great principles of our safety and preservation. They declare their confidence in his wisdom; and that he will mediate to restore harmony; and express their desire that he would remain among them. Tryon's conscience told him that the Americans ought to secure him, and prevent the mischief he was plotting against them, and he got off privately to the Halifax packet, from whence he wrote again to the mayor, saying the assurances were not sufficient, and his duty had impelled him to embark and seek his safety on board a king's ship. Some time after, he writes again (from on board the Dutchess of Gordon) to David Matthews, who had been appointed by him to the mayoralty instead of Mr. Hicks, at the same time advanced to the bench, as a judge of the supreme court. To Mr. Matthews he sends a paper to be made publick, in which he says his majesty "is graciously pleased to permit him to withdraw from his province;" that he is ready to do the inhabitants any service; that it gives him great pain to see them in such a turbulent state; and he laments the calamities that must befall them," &c. Thus the governor took care to secure himself on board a king's ship of war, while exercising authority on shore by the appointment of civil officers. William Franklin, the governor of New Jersey, did not manage so well. In his address to his assembly he tells them that his majesty has directed his com-

missioners to proceed as in the case of a town in actual rebellion, against any place in which violence shall be offered to any of his majesty's officers. He says, he should have sought an asylum on board one of his majesty's ships, as other king's governors have done, but for the wish to prevent his majesty's vengeance falling upon them for any apparent hostility to him. But if they cannot answer for his safety, he begs them to tell him so in plain language. "For," says he, "as sentiments of independency are by some men of *present consequence* openly avowed, and essays are already appearing in the publick papers to reduce the people's fears of that *horrid measure*," "it is high time that every man should know what he has to expect."

*John.* And this man was the son of Benjamin Franklin!

*Un.* But no more like his father "than I to Hercules." Benjamin Franklin, even had he been a "king's governor," could not have penned such an address.

*Wm.* Was this Governor Franklin an ugly little fellow, Uncle?

*Un.* No, boy. He was a fine tall, handsome gentleman as any in his government. This unwise address is the resemblance of his mind, not his person. At the time he uttered threats he showed his fears. The consequence was, that the persons of "*present consequence*" made him prisoner, and he was shortly after ordered as such into Connecticut, where the governor was not a "king's governor."

*John.* There appears to have been a strange state of confusion about this time, sir.

*Un.* There certainly was. The continental congress in Philadelphia had appointed generals, and directed the raising of troops. Their armies were pressing upon the king's forces in Boston, and in-

vading Canada; while in other provinces the king's authority was acknowledged, and dependence on England professed. In no place was this appearance of mingled authority and "half-faced fellowship" more conspicuous than in our own good city. The Connecticut troops, under General Wooster, encamped on the island. The governor of the province dissolved the general assembly, by orders issued from ships of war in the harbour, "with the advice of his majesty's council." He likewise gave notice to the inhabitants that the ships of war are ordered to treat them as rebels, if any violence is offered to his majesty's officers, or any bodies of men raised and armed, or any fortifications erected, &c. At the same time the people were doing all these things, and yet an officer on board the Asia dying, his corpse is brought on shore and buried in Trinity churchyard, the Marine Society of the city attending. The provincial congress resolved that every person, not an inhabitant, shall show a certificate that he is friendly to the liberties of America, or in default thereof, be treated as an enemy. The committee announced that the city "has become a scene of confusion and distress, occasioned by an apprehension of unmerited hostilities that will shortly be commenced by the ships of war lying in this harbour," "that the poor are abandoning their habitations," flying the town and taking refuge where they can find it. They call upon the neighbouring people to receive them, and afford them relief. About this time the British being forced to abandon Boston, were expected here in force. American troops were pouring in; and on the same day Major-general Charles Lee, of the continental army, arrived in the city, and Sir Henry Clinton sailed into the harbour in an English ship of war, attended by some transports with soldiers, and other armed vessels.

*John.* This is confusion indeed, sir.

*Un.* When next we meet I will endeavour to make things plain.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*Un.* It is time that I should inform you who the generals were that congress had appointed; and by a sketch of the previous history of each, give you a necessary knowledge of the character of these individuals, so important to our future story. But in the first place I must relate a circumstance which occurred at this period in New York, relative to Governor Tryon, and elucidating the difficulties the patriots had to struggle with. It is stated that in March, 1776, some of the manœuvres of the governor convinced the provincial congress in New York that he had intelligence from a spy, of their debates and transactions; and Mr. James Duane, a member of that body, suspected that his *valet*, who had formerly been a servant with Tryon, might have taken his minutes of the congressional proceedings from his pocket at night, when he went to bed, copied them, and sent the copy to his late master, on board the English fleet. Mr. Duane informed the provincial congress of his suspicions, and proposed to put fictitious minutes in his pocket. This was done, and Tryon being misled, acted accordingly: but he soon found that he had been imposed upon by the servant, or that his spy had been outwitted, and he gave him notice accordingly. The traitor finding that he was discovered, fled, and found means to put himself under the protection of the governor, who sent him off to England.

*John.* You said, sir, that Governor Franklin, of

New Jersey, who called himself a "king's governor," was sent as a prisoner to Connecticut, where there was no king's governor. Will you explain this?

*Un.* I expected this question from you. It leads me to speak of our eastern neighbour, that you may know something of Connecticut as well as of New Jersey. That province had the happiness of self-government from its original charter. The governor and his assistants or council, were elected by the people, as well as the house of assembly. They had neither king's governor nor king's council.

*John.* And, I dare say, sir, that they found an American governor of their own choosing quite as good as any English governor the king could have sent them.

*Un.* They thought so, and have never changed their opinion on the subject. At this time they had great reason to be pleased, that instead of a king's governor, as in New Jersey and New York, who should talk to them of his gracious majesty's favour, while his soldiers were approaching with fire and sword to enslave and rob them, and then take refuge on board a king's ship and join their enemies, they had a governor of their own choice, acting with them and for them, in opposition to the armies of a foreign power. Such was governor Trumbull.

*John.* I wish, sir, you would tell us something of the circumstances by which Connecticut obtained and preserved this republican government.

*Un.* As far as is necessary to our main subject, I will. You already know that New York province extended to the west bank of Connecticut river, consequently included much of the present state of that name. The grants and patents of the early period were vague and conflicting. In 1633, the Dutch of Nieuw Nederlandts built a trading house, or fort, where Hartford now is. The English puritans

from Massachusetts took possession of this region in 1635, and began the colony of Connecticut; while others, in 1637, settled farther south, and formed a distinct government at New Haven, and so remained until 1665. The general court of the province consisted of the governor, deputy or lieutenant-governor, magistrates, and house of assembly; all elected by the people. Under wise and good officers the colony thrived; and in 1662 obtained from Charles II. a charter granting them the form of government they had chosen. As to the bounds of Connecticut, such was the ignorance of those who parcelled out provinces in America, that what was granted to Lord Say and Seal, was likewise given to Wm. Penn, and to the Duke of York, and it was only by arbitration and compromise that the present lines were fixed.

*John.* Did not the English King endeavour to change the free elective government of Connecticut?

*Un.* Yes. And the governor of New York, Fletcher, who began the contest with the assembly respecting a permanent grant of money for government supplies, attempted to impose himself upon Connecticut. It is said that, attended by his secretary, Col. Bayard, he went to Hartford, and the militia being paraded to honour him, he ordered Bayard to read his commission; but as soon as the secretary began to read, Captain Wadsworth ordered his drummer to strike up: the governor threatened, but the captain very fairly *told* him that he would put his sword through him, and so ended the business. The governors of Connecticut have been men distinguished for their patriotism, as well as for their morality and religion.

*Wm.* But, Uncle, had they not, in early times, terrible wars with the Indians?

*Un.* They had. There was a nation of fierce

warriours called the Pequods, with whom the settlers had to contend. And there was a great man, called by the English, King Philip, who conceived a plan for extirpating the strangers; but I must refer you to books for these transactions, and return to the province of New York in 1776; for it is time for us to examine the men to whom Congress had intrusted the military affairs of the continent. It was on the 15th day of June, 1775, that George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, and by his recommendation, Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, known to him as experienced officers, were appointed, the first a major-general, and the second as adjutant-general. Congress, at the same time, appointed Artemas Ward, then commanding at Cambridge, Philip Schuyler, of New York, and Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, major-generals. We have seen that General Washington, attended by Schuyler and Lee, passed through New York at the time Tryon arrived from England. We will now see who and what Philip Schuyler, Charles Lee, and Horatio Gates were, and what they had been doing, up to this time.

*John.* We know, sir, that Mr. Schuyler had been the champion of liberty in the New York legislature.

*Un.* I will read you some brief notes which I have drawn up for your instruction, from various sources, but particularly from Mrs. Grant's "Memoirs of an American Lady," and Chancellor Kent's "Biographical Sketch of Philip Schuyler." The ancestor of General Schuyler had the same name, Philip, and was a large landed proprietor of the province, in its early days. He settled at "the Flats," some miles to the north of Albany, and was esteemed one of the most enlightened men of the province. His was at the time a frontier settlement.

His brother John was likewise a proprietor, and aided him in his wise measures for keeping peace with the Indians who surrounded them. Colonel Philip Schuyler formed and executed the plan of carrying several chiefs of the Five Nations to England, and introducing them to Queen Ann, by way of securing their attachment to the English colonists: in this he was successful, and returned with his five kings in the year 1709. At this time Mrs. Grant's heroine, Catalina Schuyler, the daughter of the colonel's brother, John, was nine years of age, and was adopted into Philip's family, as a companion and sister of his own daughter and sons, in consequence of the death of her father. In the year 1719, Colonel Schuyler's oldest son, Philip, was married to Mrs. Grant's heroine, (and his cousin,) Catalina. Philip inherited the estates at the Flats, and his brothers Peter and Jeremiah had seats on eminences in the neighbourhood. Philip had also a large house in Albany. In 1721 the first Philip Schuyler, or the old colonel, died. Philip the second was a member of the legislature; and in the war which occurred at this time, he raised and commanded a provincial regiment. Philip Schuyler the third, who is the subject of our research, was the son of John, and grandson of Peter, above mentioned. Born the 22d of November, 1733, he was educated by a good and wise mother until sent to a school at New Rochelle, where he experienced a long confinement at the age of 16, from an attack of hereditary gout. He here acquired a knowledge of the French language, and improved himself in various branches of learning. The exact sciences were his favourite study, and to them he owed his superior skill in finance, military engineering, and political economy. In 1755 he commanded a company in the New York levies, and served with Sir

William Johnson in the French war. In 1758 Lord Viscount Howe selected young Schuyler as chief of the commissariat department, and the talents of the youth justified the choice. When Howe fell in the ill-judged attack of Abercrombie upon Ticonderoga, Schuyler was directed to convey the corpse of that gallant gentleman to Albany, and there cause it to be buried with appropriate honours. We shall see that Charles Lee was shot through the body at the head of his company of grenadiers, in this same murderous action, and was received and nursed in the family mansion of the Schuylers at the Flats. After the peace of 1763, Philip, now called Colonel Schuyler, served as a commissioner on the part of New York, in the controversy with Massachusetts, respecting the boundary line. In 1768 he represented the city and county of Albany in the general assembly, and continued his patriotick exertions until the assembly was dissolved by Tryon, in 1775. With the glorious minority he combated the influence of England, and with George Clinton, Nathaniel Wood-hull, Col. Tenbroeck and Col. Philip Livingston, he is entitled to the eternal gratitude of New York and America. In May, 1775, Colonel Schuyler was elected by his fellow-citizens as their delegate to the continental congress in Philadelphia, and had scarcely taken his seat when he was appointed the third major-general of the American army, and charged by Washington with the command of the province of New York, on the 25th of June. Six days after, congress directed him to repair to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, secure the command of Lake Champlain, and, "if practicable and expedient, to take possession of St. John's, Montreal, and Quebec." The difficulties of an expedition into Canada, without the materials or equipments of

war, were clearly perceived by him, and strongly felt, but he surmounted them with a rapidity and success that "no other individual," says the judicious Chancellor Kent, "could at that period have performed."

*John.* This is high praise, sir, from such a man.

*Un.* I believe it is perfectly just. I will give you a few words respecting General Schuyler, from a book written by Captain Graydon, who about this time was sent by congress to convey a sum of money to the general from Philadelphia, and found him on the borders of Lake George. "Though General Schuyler has been charged with such haughtiness of demeanour, as to have induced the troops of New England to decline serving under his command, as stated in Marshall's Life of Washington, the reception we met with, was not merely courteous, but kind. His quarters being contracted, a bed was prepared for us in his own apartment, and we experienced civilities that were flattering from an officer of his high rank. Though thoroughly the man of business, he was also a gentleman, and man of the world; and well calculated to sustain the reputation of our army in the eyes of the British officers, (disposed to depreciate it,) as is evidenced by the account given by General Burgoyne of the manner in which he was entertained by him, at Albany." "He certainly was at no pains to conceal the extreme contempt he felt for a set of officers, who were both a disgrace to their stations and the cause in which they acted!" Before the end of August a large force was sent down Lake Champlain under General Montgomery, who declared his happiness in serving under the orders of so competent a commander as Schuyler. But this truly efficient man was prevented following farther than the Isle Au Noix, where he was conveyed in a state

of exhaustion from severe sickness, and obliged to fix his head-quarters. Montgomery wrote to him, "I hope you will join us with all expedition. Let me entreat you (if you can possibly) to follow in a cockle-boat, leaving somebody to forward on the troops and artillery. It will give the men great confidence in your spirit and activity. Be assured I have your honour and reputation highly at heart, as of the greatest consequence to the publick service." You shall see how the opinion of this good man will contrast with the words of some others. "All my ambition," said the chivalrick Montgomery to his commander, "is to do my duty in a subordinate capacity, without the least ungenerous intention of lessening the merit so justly your due." Schuyler was obliged to return to Ticonderoga, but never ceased his exertions for the success of the expedition.

*John.* Was he not a great man, sir?

*Un.* I think so. Read that extract from Chancellor Kent's memoir.

*John.* "His very impaired health rendered General Schuyler's situation oppressive. He was charged with the duty of supplying the Canadian army with recruits, provisions, clothing, arms, and money, and to do it adequately was beyond his power. He was obliged to apply to congress for leave to retire. But his application was not listened to, and on the 30th of November, congress resolved that his conduct, attention, and perseverance, merited the thanks of the united colonies. They expressed, through president Hancock, their 'greatest concern and sympathy for his loss of health, and requested that he would not insist on a measure which would deprive America of his zeal and abilities, and rob him of the honour of completing the glorious work which he had so happily and successfully begun.' Gen-

eral Washington, who always maintained a close and constant correspondence with Schuyler, expressed the same regret and desire, and in his letters of the 5th and 24th December, conjured both him and Montgomery to lay aside all such thoughts of retirement, ‘alike injurious to themselves, and excessively so to the country. They had not a difficulty to contend with that he had not in an eminent degree experienced.’ Who can withhold his unqualified admiration of the man, who gave such advice, at such a crisis! To his incomparable fortitude and inflexible firmness America owes her national existence.

“ General Schuyler determined to continue in the service, and especially, as he said, after the fall of his ‘amiable friend Montgomery, who had given him so many proofs of the goodness of his heart, and who, as he greatly fell in his country’s cause, was more to be envied than lamented.’ The distressed condition of the northern army in the winter and spring of 1776, was quite unparalleled in the history of the revolution. General Schuyler was roused to the utmost limit of exertion in his endeavours to relieve it, by collecting and despatching men, provisions, arms, and military and naval equipments to the northern posts, and to the army. His attention was directed to every quarter, exacting vigilance, order, economy, and prompt execution in all the complicated concerns of the department. His duty was more arduous and difficult; it was inexpressibly vexatious, and could not be sternly and effectually performed without collisions, provoking jealous and angry feelings, and requiring large sacrifices of transient popularity. With his exhausted and debilitated frame of body, every person who saw him, concluded that he must soon sink under the pressure of his duties. His incessant correspondence with

congress was full of the best practical advice. At that crisis, congress multiplied his concerns to an overwhelming degree. On the 8th of January, he was required to cause the river St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, to be well explored. He was to fill up blank commissions for the Canada regiments in his discretion. He was to establish an accountability for the waste of the publick supplies. He was to put Ticonderoga in a defencible condition. But the army in Canada engrossed his attention. After the death of Montgomery, the command devolved on Brigadier-general Wooster. The most alarming, and next to the want of provisions, the most distressing deficiency in the northern army, was in muskets, ammunition, and cannon. The call was also loud and incessant for specie, and General Schuyler went so far, as to raise, on his own personal security, 2,100*l.*, York currency, in gold and silver, for that service. Nothing shows more strikingly the want of arms than the fact that even General Washington, in his camp at Cambridge, applied to Schuyler for assistance in that particular. 'Your letters and mine,' said the former, 'seem echoes to each other, enumerating our mutual difficulties.'

"Great apprehension was entertained at this eventful moment, for the disaffected inhabitants in the Mohawk country under the influence of Sir John Johnson, and congress directed General Schuyler to cause the tories in that quarter to be disarmed, and their leaders secured. He accordingly marched into that country, in the month of January, and executed the service with such zeal, despatch, and discretion, as to receive the special approbation of congress."

*Un.* I must give you a more particular account

of this expedition into the Indian country, and the behaviour of Sir John Johnson.

*John.* This Sir John, was, I suppose, sir, the son of the Sir William who superseded the ancestor of General Schuyler, as agent for the English with the Indians.

*Un.* The same.

*Phil.* I remember Sir William's dream.

*Un.* The Indians of the Six Nations never forgot their friendly intercourse with the Schuylers, and the services of Colonel Peter Schuyler; but the Johnsons had now been a long time the medium through which they received their blankets, guns, knives, and rum from England, consequently their influence was paramount. But General Schuyler had persuaded the Indians in 1775 to promise neutrality in the approaching troubles. He had now reason to believe that the influence of Sir John Johnson was prevailing with them.

*John.* He had the advantage of living near them.

*Un.* General Schuyler having no troops whereabouts to execute the orders of congress, and knowing that secrecy and despatch were necessary to his success, communicated his plan to a sub-committee of Albany county, administering an oath of secrecy; but advices arrived from Tryon county respecting the hostile preparations of Johnson, his Scotch tenants and adherents, as well as the Mohawks, that made secrecy unnecessary, and seven hundred of the militia were called out with the avowed purpose of disarming this internal enemy. With this force the general marched, but before he reached Caughnawaga, his army had increased to three thousand. At Schenectady a deputation from the Mohawks met him. Schuyler had sent them a message informing them of his intention to march into their country, but with no design of hostility to them.

At their meeting the usual form of making speeches took place. They acknowledged the receipt of his message, and his information that a number of men were imbodyed about Johnstown and Sir Johns, and intended to commit hostilities down the river; and that he was coming to inquire into the matter. They acknowledged that he had assured them no harm was intended to them; as they had the last summer publickly engaged to take no part against him in the dispute with the "great king over the water." They proposed to Schuyler, that instead of marching his troops to Johnstown, he should send up six men to inquire into the truth of what he had heard, and send his soldiers home. They said that the council of their nation had sent them to meet him, and warn him to take care what he is about. They remind him again of their agreement to keep peace, and that he had said "if any person was found in their neighbourhood inimical to peace, he should consider such person as an enemy;" and the Six Nations thought he meant "the son of Sir William," and they particularly desire that he should not be injured. They repeatedly warn the general "not to spill blood," and say that they intend to observe the treaty made with him, and remain at peace. They say that their chiefs had begged Sir John not to be the aggressor: that he had promised he would not. That he had but "a handful of men," and could not be the aggressor; therefore, if Schuyler and his men should come up and any evil happen, they should look upon him as the aggressor, or as "shutting up the path of peace." They denied that Sir John was making military preparations or fortifying his house, and asserted that every thing remained as in the time of Sir William. They profess a sincere desire for peace, but acknowledge that some among them are disposed to hostilities. They in-

sinuate that if this hostile array proceeds they may not be able to restrain their warriours, who are determined, if Schuyler persists in going to Johnson-Hall, that they will be present at his meeting with Sir John, and the counsellors and chiefs cannot be answerable for what may happen. The orator concludes by saying that he had persuaded the warriours "to sit still," and await his return with the answer Schuyler may give him.

*John.* This was all very artful, sir.

*Un.* And no doubt dictated by Johnson. Schuyler answered them in their own fashion. The substance was, that he had hoped a previous message sent by him to the Six Nations had convinced them no hostile intentions were entertained towards them; and is sorry the Mohawks had not sent that message. That he has full proof that many people in Johnstown and the neighbourhood have been making preparations to carry into execution "the wicked designs of the king's evil counsellors." That the force he commands is not brought for war with the Six Nations, but to prevent it, by seeing that the people of Johnstown do not interrupt the harmony of the colonies with the Indians. That he will not injure the people of Johnstown, if they agree to such terms as shall give assurance of security to their neighbours. That he will not permit any of his followers "to set foot on the Mohawk lands;" all he requires of them being that they do not interfere in the "family quarrel of the whites." He reminds them that notwithstanding their treaty of peace, some of their warriours had attacked the Americans at St. Johns, and had been killed there; which, he says, "you did not complain of, as you knew it was right to kill them in self-defence." He says, "in a little time, I and my friends may be called to fight our enemies to the eastward, and will it be prudent

to leave our wives and children exposed to enemies here at hand? We shall send a letter to Sir John inviting him to meet us on the road, and if every thing is not settled he shall return safe to his own house." He wished the Indians to be present at the interview; but added, that if he is obliged to resort to force, and they join his enemies, they must take the consequence. He begs them to repeat all this to their council.

*John.* He shows that he understands both the Indians and Sir John.

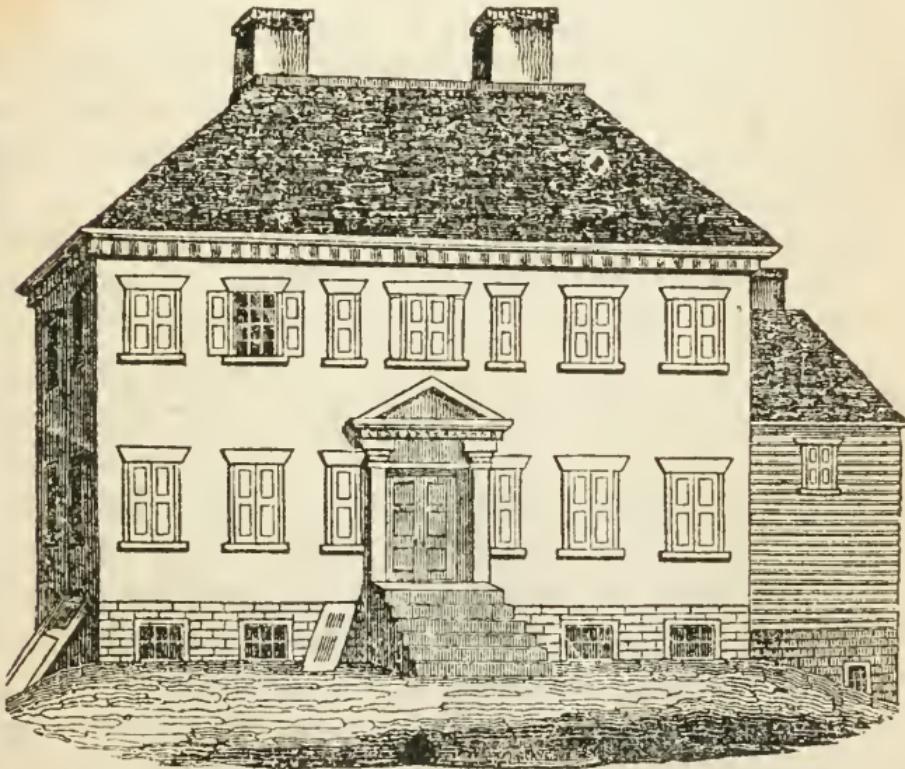
*Un.* The 16th of January the general despatched a letter to Johnson, saying that information having been received of designs dangerous to the liberties of his majesty's subjects in the county of Tryon, he had been ordered to march thither to contravene them, and wishing that no blood may be shed, he requests Sir John to meet him to-morrow on his way to Johnstown, pledging his honour for his safe conduct back and forth; concluding with a message tending to quiet any apprehensions in the mind of Lady Johnson. Accordingly, the next day Johnson met the general on his march, and received terms requiring the delivery of all the cannon and military stores under his control, except his personal arms and ammunition therefor. That he should remain on parole in Tryon county. That the Scotch inhabitants immediately deliver up their arms and give hostages. That all presents intended by England for the Indians be delivered to a commissary appointed to receive them. These terms, if agreed to, Schuyler pledges himself for the protection of Sir John and the inhabitants of the county.

*Wm.* What said the knight to this?

*Un.* At first he blustered a little, and said the Indians would support him, and that some were already at Johnson-Hall for the purpose. To this the an-

swer was, "force will be opposed to force, and blood must follow;" on which Sir John asked time to consider until next evening, which was granted. Another Mohawk chief waited on Schuyler, and assured him that the Indians would not interfere except as mediators. The general then marched forward and halted within four miles of Johnstown, where he received propositions from Johnson for himself and the people of Kingsborough, which were, that all arms belonging to Sir John "and the other gentlemen" should remain with them, all others to be given up. Of military stores belonging to the crown he says he has none. He expects to go where he pleases. The Scotch inhabitants will deliver up their arms, and promise not to take any without permission from the continental congress; but they cannot command hostages. This is signed, J. Johnson, Allan McDougall; and dated, Johnson-Hall, 18th January, 1776. Schuyler answers, that this proposition cannot be accepted, and he must obey his orders. He at the same time sends a passport to Lady Johnson, with a request that she would retire. Time is allowed until midnight for another answer, and gentlemen sent to receive it. Soon after, the sachems of the Mohawks wait upon Schuyler and ask more time for Sir John's answer. This is granted "for their sakes," and within the period fixed the knight agrees for himself and the inhabitants of Kingsborough to give up their arms, and that he would not go westward of German Flatts and Kinsland district; likewise, that six Scotch inhabitants may be taken as hostages. Sir John and the Scotch gentlemen pledge themselves, as far as their influence goes, for the delivery of the arms of the inhabitants, and Johnson gives assurance that he has no stores in his possession as presents to the Indians. Upon receiving the last answer, Schuyler told the Indians

that all would be settled, and they may go home. On the 19th the general marched into Johnstown and drew up his men in a line; the Highlanders were drawn up facing them, and grounded their arms. The military stores were surrendered; and this service being performed, Schuyler and his militia returned. It was found afterward that the Highlanders had not delivered up their broadswords or their ammunition. Here is a picture of Johnson-Hall, as it appeared in 1815. But for many years the provincial governors and other king's officers were frequent visitors, and no stranger of rank but was entertained at Johnson-Hall; while the sachems of the Six Nations and all the Mohawks repaired thither for the gifts from the great king over the water.



## CHAPTER V.

*John.* Now, sir, we wish to hear something of the early history of the famous General Gates.

*Un.* We have seen that on the 15th of June, 1775, the continental congress made choice, by a unanimous vote, of Colonel George Washington to be commander-in-chief of the armies of America. As his major-generals they appointed Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam. Now, I think, we had better pass these gentlemen in review, in the order of their rank, only omitting Schuyler, as circumstances have brought him before us out of the order which his appointment would mark.

*Wm.* And then, sir, if you tell us of the adjutant-general, and the brigadiers, we shall go to war as regularly as Homer and Virgil do after reviewing their heroes.

*Un.* True, boy. Mr. Ward, as you know, commanded the troops assembled before Boston at the commencement of the war. He soon retired from the service, and left Charles Lee the oldest major-general. This officer was an English gentleman of some fortune, and son to a colonel in his majesty's service. Charles was commissioned at the age of eleven, so that he was almost from birth in the army. Quick in perception, and ardent in all his pursuits, he became a good scholar, and an able tactician, as far as a man devoid of prudence may be so esteemed. His first military service was under General Abercrombie, in America, and as I have incidentally mentioned, he was wounded at the defeat of that officer by the French on the banks of Lake Champlain. Great were the preparations of the English for attacking

Ticonderoga, a strong fortress near the outlet of Lake George into the greater inland sea which it was built to command; and it was garrisoned by a veteran French force of four or five thousand men. Abercrombie advanced with as fine an army of disciplined soldiers as the world could produce, and like Braddock, sacrificed them by disdaining the advice of provincials. Charles Lee was a captain in the forty-fourth regiment, and is twice mentioned by Mrs. Grant; who says the army advanced in detachments from Albany by the Flats, to the residence of the Schuylers. "One of the first of these divisions was commanded by Lee, of frantick celebrity." She adds, "Captain Lee neglected to bring the customary warrants for impressing horses and oxen, &c.; he, however, seized every thing he wanted where he could most readily find it, as if he were in a conquered country; and not content with this violence, poured forth a volley of execrations on those who presumed to question his right" of appropriation. Even Mrs. Schuyler "was not spared." Such is the testimony of a lady, herself the daughter of an English officer, and partial to the military of her own country.

*John.* This agrees with all you have told us, sir, of the insolence of these foreign officers, and their contempt for the provincials.

*Un.* In a few days the wounded of this proud army, after their defeat, were brought back to "the Flats," and received by the Schuylers as "men and brethren." The barn was fitted up as an hospital, and a part of the house allotted to the surgeon, among whose patients, says Mrs. Grant, "was Lee, the same insolent and rapacious Lee, who had insulted" the mistress of the mansion. He was received and treated as a child. "Even Lee," says the writer, "felt and acknowledged the resistless

force of such generous humanity. He swore, in his vehement manner, he was sure there was a place reserved for her in heaven, though no other woman should be there." Such, children, is the power of true benevolence upon the most reckless characters. But Lee, though selfish, vain, presuming, and passionate, was not without many good qualities; he was quick-witted, frank, courageous, and capable of feeling and admiring the character of the benevolent and forgiving Mrs. Schuyler.

*John.* I think this lady was the aunt of General Schuyler.

*Un.* Yes; at that time the widow of Colonel Philip Schuyler the second. Lee returned to Europe, and in 1762 served with General Burgoyne in Portugal. Ever restless, he entered the Polish service, and had attained the rank of major-general before he returned to America, for which country he appears to have had a sincere attachment, not the less probably for his adventures at Schuyler's Flats. He, however, had rambled all over Europe; had killed his man in a duel, and had been engaged in several others before he again crossed the Atlantick. He was in Philadelphia in 1774, and in July of that year, Horatio Gates, then on a plantation in Virginia, wrote to him a letter of invitation, and persuaded him to buy a farm in his neighbourhood, which, after visiting New York, Rhode Island, and Boston, he accomplished. He was now a violent anti-ministerialist, and had published several essays in defence of the colonies. Gates, in his letter, says, "a good bed is provided for you, two or three slaves to supply all your wants and whimsies; and space enough about us for you to exercise away all your spleen and gloomy moods, whensoever they distress you." The farm bought by Lee is described as containing two thousand four hundred acres,

and is valued at thirty shillings sterling an acre. Besides these, he had a claim for five thousand acres on the Ohio, to be granted by warrant from Lord Dunmore. Gates advises him to be cautious in respect to Gage, and professes his own willingness to join the cause of America.

*Wm.* These gentlemen were old acquaintances, it seems.

*Un.* Both military men, and long known as soldiers to each other. They were in exterior and in manner extremely different; Gates was courteous, accommodating, and insinuating; with a very prepossessing person. Lee, abrupt, rude, careless, capricious, and so unaccommodating as to be very disagreeable to the neat or the scrupulous, especially to ladies. He was always attended by his only favourites, two dogs; who by his desire must be at his side in the drawing-room or at the dinner-table. At the time he entered the American service, and formally renounced his English commission and half-pay, he was supposed to be an immense acquisition to the cause; and it was well known that Washington recommended both Lee and Gates to congress for the several commissions they bore. General Clinton, with a British force, arrived at New York, and Lee came on to that place in 1776, and was very active in throwing up fortifications in and around the town. Tryon and the commander of the king's ships in the harbour, "threatened perdition to the town if the cannon were removed from the batteries and wharves;" "but," says Lee, in a letter to Gates, "I ever considered threats a *brutum fulmen*, and even persuaded the town to be of the same way of thinking; we accordingly conveyed them to a place of safety in the middle of the day, and no cannonade ensued. Captain Parker publishes a pleasant reason for his passive conduct.

He says it was manifestly my intention, and that of the New England men under my command, to bring destruction on this town, so hated for its loyal principles, but he was determined not to indulge us; so remained quiet out of spite. The people here laugh at his nonsense, and begin to despise the menaces, which formerly used to throw them into convulsions. To do them justice, the whole show a wonderful alacrity; and in removing the cannon, men and boys of all ages worked with the greatest zeal and pleasure. I really believe that the generality are as well affected as any on the continent." The "convulsions," he alludes to, were the symptoms of terror shown by the defenceless inhabitants when the Asia fired upon the town in 1775.

*Wm.* What did Parker mean by calling New York a loyal or a tory town?

*Un.* It was the plan of Tryon and others to divide the colonists, therefore New York was represented as attached to England, and hated by the whigs. But the *people* were, as elsewhere, loyal to their country. New York was found too well prepared to resist the force under Sir Henry Clinton, and he sailed to the South, where Lee was despatched to meet him, and when the British appeared off Charleston, General Lee was already there in command. The defeat of the British ships of war by the gallant Moultrie belongs to the history of the United States, but we must observe that this added greatly to the already high reputation of Charles Lee. Lee and Gates visited Washington at Mount Vernon just before he went to congress, and there doubtless it was proposed and settled that they should enter the service as American officers. The fourth major-general appointed by congress was Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, a man recommended by his zeal for the cause, and by his having been a good subaltern

scouting officer in the provincial service during the French war; of his qualifications for commanding an army we must judge hereafter by events.

*Wm.* Now, sir, for General Gates.

*Un.* Horatio Gates was born in England, and was the son of Captain Robert Gates of the British army; so you see that both Lee and Gates were not only Englishmen and in the British army, but sons of his majesty's officers. Gates received his first name from his godfather, the celebrated Horatio or Horace Walpole; who mentions him as his "godson," on an occasion hereafter to be noticed. What farther connexion Gates had with the family of the Earl of Orford, I do not know; certainly he was in early life protected by high aristocratick influence, and had hopes, from that class, of promotion of no ordinary character until 1773. That he received a liberal education is evident from his letters. As early as 1749 he served as a volunteer under General Edward Cornwallis, who commanded in Nova Scotia as governor of Halifax. By him Horatio was appointed a captain-lieutenant in Warburton's regiment, and Cornwallis espoused his interest very warmly, offering by letter to his father, an advance of money for the purchase of a company for the young man. In this letter, directed to Captain Gates, Southampton street, London, he farther says, that he has given his son an employment that will bring him in 200*l.* a year. Four years after this, young Gates was in England, busily engaged in purchasing promotion in the army, and on the 13th of September, 1754, is dated his commission as captain of an independent company, at New York, late Clarke's. This is signed "Holderness," by order of George the Second. In 1755, Captain Horatio Gates had returned to America, and shared with Braddock in

the disasters of Monongahela. Here may have commenced his acquaintance with Colonel George Washington of the despised provincials. Previous to leaving England the young captain had married Miss Phillips, the daughter of an English officer. In the years 1756, '7 and '8, Gates was on service in the western part of the province of New York, and in the last of these years received the appointment of brigade-major from General Stanwix, whose name was long attached to a frontier fort at the sources of the Mohawk river, where now the town of Rome is built. During these years Major Gates held the independent company stationed at New York, which he purchased of Captain Clarke.

*John.* Was it the custom to purchase promotion in the English army?

*Un.* Yes; the universal usage. Clarke writes to Gates in 1756, that Calcraft, the agent in purchasing the independent company, will "bear no more blame" respecting the settlement; and had required Clarke to apply to Gates. He tells Gates to convince the world that he "prefers equity and truth to all those mean *refuges* that artful men make to save their interest for a little while." He adds, "I want nothing of you but what honesty and truth demand; I have been injured, and you know it."

*Wm.* Why this looks like quarrelling over a marketable commodity between two hucksters.

*Un.* These highminded gentlemen in scarlet and gold were as anxious to seize upon a bargain as any dealers in other marketable commodities; and watched the expected death of a messmate for an opportunity to purchase and obtain rank, as eagerly as the lowest huckster ever sought to fore-stall a market.

*John.* Where was Mr. Gates at this time?

*Un.* In the western part of the province of New

York ; and while there, James Abercrombie writes to him, giving some incidents of the war, and saying that the *provincials* through ignorance missed an opportunity of defeating a French force near Fort Edward. He says, they are averse to "a junction with the king's troops." "Since they are unwilling to take our assistance, I would e'en let them try it themselves, but have regulars to secure the fools in case they should be repulsed."

*John.* I don't wonder the provincials were averse to a junction which subjected them to the commands of such self-sufficient gentry.

*Un.* This will remind you of the letter I mentioned to you before, written to Gates in the year 1759, when he was at Pittsburgh, from another of his brother king's-officers.

*Wm.* I remember it, sir ; where he says, nothing but consideration for his majesty's service, prevents his answering a letter from a member of the New York provincial legislature with his cane.

*Un.* Such was the universal feeling of these gentlemen in livery. When there was an exception, it was to a general rule. In 1760, General Robert Monckton was commander-in-chief of the troops at New York, and he appointed Major Gates one of his aids. The major being in Philadelphia in October of this year, Governor Boone of New Jersey wrote to him. An extract from his letter shows something of the feelings among the rulers of the time, which can only appear in these confidential communications. Read it.

*John.* "October 13th, 1760. Poor Delancey ! have I written to you since his death ? General Monckton is talked of for the government, (of New York,) and desired. Pownal is expected and dreaded. General Gage is said likewise to have applied. Speaking of the colonists, he says, their

politicks are confounded, and their society is worse, by the loss of the best companion in it. Oliver is in the council, and Jemmy Delancey, no longer a soldier, is a candidate for the city." He says, although he has been governor a good while, he had not yet met his assembly."

*Un.* The troops destined to attack Martinique were encamped on Staten Island, under Monckton's command; and General Amherst came on from the north to succeed Monckton as commander-in-chief. Strange as it may appear, on Staten Island, Amherst was invested with the insignia and title of a knight of the Bath, by Monckton; due authority having been received from Lord Chatham. Monckton and Gates departed for the West Indies, and Sir Jef-fery remained commander of the troops in the prov-ince. Monckton took Martinique, and despatched Gates with the triumphant news to London, which of course gained him promotion; and on the 26th April, 1762, Mr. Townsend informs him that he is appointed to be major to the forty-fifth regiment of foot. It was on this occasion that Horace Walpole, by way of *bardinage*, claimed credit for the capture of Martinique, as his *godson* and namesake brought the news. The connexion of Gates with Lord Or-ford appears mysterious. Major Gates remained sev-eral months in London, much dissatisfied with the promotion he had attained, and assiduously endeav-ouring, by petition and the influence of friends among the nobility, to obtain something more lucra-tive; but his success was not equal to the efforts made, and he returned to America as major of the forty-fifth. He had been successful in disposing of his company of independents; for in August, 1763, these companies had been disbanded, and Gates is congratulated as being "out of the scrape."

*John.* Why, sir, all that these officers seem to think of is making money.

*Un.* Certainly the major does not appear inattentive to what is vulgarly called the main-chance. He made frequent applications to the war office, and in August, 1763, gained Amherst's very reluctant leave of absence to go to London. He does not appear to have been a favourite with Sir Jeffery, who fairly tells him that his desire to leave his station appears to be only "dictated by his own interest." His hopes were with Monckton, and he was assured by one of his correspondents that the general had undertaken "his affair." The leave of absence was communicated in these ungracious words: "If you are determined to go, you have his leave to settle accordingly." And, accordingly, the major was in England before November 22d, 1763, for that is the date of a letter from William Smith, afterward king's chief-justice in Canada, son to the historian of New York, directed to Gates, in London, from which you may read this abstract, and my memorandum.

*John.* "Smith wishes Gates such a retreat as that in which, he says, 'with the aid of Bacchus, and in the pride of philosophy, we laughed at the anxieties of the great.' He says, we in America want aid, 'not to maintain the dependency of the colonies, for you know, saucy as we are, there is nothing to fear on *that account*.' 'Sir William Johnson is continually terrifying us with the defection of the Six Nations;' 'but, thank heaven, those barbarians love themselves too well to throw off the mask of friendship. Amherst has left New York.' He praises Boone, and reprobates 'the cowardly expedient' of the English ministry in removing governors because the *people* dislike them. He says, Colden, for want of purse, and more for want of spirit to imitate Monckton, has retired to Flushing. 'The

little star does not yet appear, the twilight of his predecessor is still too strong to permit such a twinkling luminary to glitter.' In another letter to the same, he continues in the like strain. Mentioning Morris's death, on the 27th January, 1764, he says, 'Gay in the morning—dead in the evening. He came out to a rural dance,' 'he took out the parson's wife, danced down six couple, and fell dead on the floor, without a word, a groan, or a sigh.' He then goes on to mention the prominent men of the time in New Jersey, where this happened. 'Franklin has put Charles Reade in his (Morris's) place on the bench, and filled up Reade's with John Berrian, a babbling country surveyor. Franklin after Boone —after Morris, Reade!' He afterward says, 'The first error is on your side of the water,' (England.) That is, as he says, in recalling Boone because of his contest with 'a proud, licentious assembly.' 'We are a great garden—constant cultivation will keep down the weeds; remember they were planted by liberty and religion near a hundred years ago; there are strong roots that will soon despise the gardener's utmost strength. When Great Britain loses the power to regulate these dependencies, I think 'tis clear she will have no other left.' He concludes by calling for governors and judges of spirit and abilities." This is a very remarkable letter, sir. Does he call for force to keep down the growth of liberty and religion, or of the power of the people?

*Un.* It is a very remarkable letter from *such* a man to *such* a man. This is faithfully taken from the original; and I put it in your hands to show how these men talked and wrote to each other at that time.

*John.* But, sir. Major Gates is not accountable for what his correspondents write.

*Un.* Certainly not. But when a man's correspondents write year after year, or in general, in a certain style, I must presume that they know the sentiments of him they address. No one will write to *you* repeatedly, and in a friendly, familiar manner, calling *me* fool, knave, or villain, unless the writer knows the language accords with *your* sentiments.

*Wm.* Did Major Gates remain in England, sir?

*Un.* In November, 1764, he was appointed to a majority in the Royal Americans, as a special mark of his majesty's favour, as is announced to him from the war office; and in December he received permission to remain four months in England. Soon after, through his agent, he received proposals from a captain of dragoons, offering 3000*l.* for his majority; and not long after, in a letter written by a relative, it is mentioned that he had sold out on half-pay. He still remained in England, evidently expecting promotion through the interest of General Monckton, and his brother, Lord Galloway, and, probably, by the influence of his godfather. His friends in New York point out offices for him to apply for, particularly that of paymaster-general, as, says one, "Abraham Mortier goes to England next spring, with his fat lady; my friend, could you not contrive to get his place—he has made a fortune."

*John.* Who was this Mortier, sir?

*Un.* All I know of him is, that he caused that house to be built which once was the head-quarters of Washington, called Richmond Hill, at that time surrounded by a park, and situated on an eminence, now the corner of Varick and Charlton streets, on a level with its neighbours, surrounded by houses, and called Richmond Hill theatre. This place was then, and until a few years, far out of the city.

*John.* Major Gates remained a long time at home, sir.

*Un.* In 1766, the major's father died; and by the letters of General Monckton, it appears, that the hopes of the general are deferred, and of course those of Gates; who now looked for an appointment under his friend, and resided with his family in retirement.

*Wm.* It appears, sir, that both Gates and Lee were in Europe when Schuyler and Washington were serving their country at home.

*Un.* In 1768, Major Gates was in London, and waiting the result of Monckton's expectations; and Gates about this time sold his half-pay and commission to Monckton's younger brother; and was in expectation of accompanying the general to the East Indies; but delays occurred, and the years 1769 and '70, find the major still living in retirement, and expectations of a post under Monckton, in the East Indies.

*Wm.* So! If he had obtained an appointment, *we* should have had no General Gates.

*Un.* Monckton, disappointed in his East India schemes, receives the office of a reviewing-general, and endeavours, in the latter part of 1770, to obtain the post of town-major for Gates, and this failing, Monckton (having his hopes revived as to the East) renewed his promises to his expectant protegee; as late as July, 1771, he writes thus, in answer to Gates: " You know it has not been in the least in my power to serve myself, and therefore could not do what I wished by you." " What you have heard about the East Indies is partly true; but whether or not I shall succeed is very uncertain. I can only assure you, that should it succeed, you are the only one I have as yet thought of." And in December, " I am sorry to inform you that East India matters do not go on so well as I could wish." " You need not hurry yourself to come up till you hear from me

again." In 1772, Major Gates having given up all hopes of a place under the king's government, and his former commissions having been sold, resolved to emigrate to Virginia; where, in Blakely county, he purchased and resided in 1773; and until, as we have seen, he and his friend Charles Lee, likewise a purchaser in the same county, visited General Washington at Mount Vernon.

*John.* If Major Gates had been appointed a town-major in England, or to an office in the East Indies, we should probably never have heard of him as an American officer.

*Un.* Or, if he had succeeded Abraham Mortier as paymaster-general of his majesty's forces in America, he might, perhaps, have been surrendered to Philip Schuyler, on the field of Saratoga. I have, for your information, sought and found the above manuscript testimony respecting Horatio Gates's life and pursuits up to 1775. We will now pursue our story, and we shall again meet him. As soon as Washington had procured the appointment of adjutant-general for Major Gates, he writes to him giving him the information; and the major replied in a very characteristick letter, the conclusion of which is in these words: "I will not intrude more upon your time, only to assure you, that I shall not lose a moment in paying you my personal attendance, with the greatest respect for your character, and the sincerest attachment to your person."

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## CHAPTER VI.

*Un.* We have seen that General Lee was sent on to prepare New York for defence, and while he was thus employed, the commander-in-chief thought of

him as a fit person to supply the loss of the brave and generous Montgomery, in Canada. About this time General Gates wrote to Lee from Cambridge. Some extracts from the letter will be of service to us. It is dated from Head-Quarters, February 26, 1776. Speaking of Fort George, at New York, he says, "I like your intention of making the fort an open redoubt; I think some heavy guns upon the south and west sides, with good sod merlons, will make the men-of-war keep aloof. It is a pretty high situation, and battering it at a distance, over the lower batteries, would have but little effect." "Clinton, I am satisfied, went to see how affairs were circumstanced at New York, to consult with Tryon, and to prepare the way for Howe's reception." "We shall march with the utmost expedition to support you." "Little Eustace is well, but nothing is done for him as yet. You know *the more than Scotch partiality of these folks.* I have had much to do to support the lad you put into Colonel Whitcomb's regiment. They have no complaint in nature against him, but that he is too good an officer." You see by this what Gates's feelings were toward the New England men, yet he had the art to conciliate their favour and use it to supplant others. Shortly after this, General Lee was ordered to Charleston, South Carolina, to oppose Clinton; so that he being employed in the south, and Schuyler at the north, Putnam, as the only remaining major-general, had command in the city of New York. He made his head-quarters in a house left vacant by the owner, Captain Kennedy, of the British navy, being the first house in Broadway, since enlarged, and known as No. 1. But General Washington soon arrived, and fixed his head-quarters in the house built by Mortier, the English paymaster-general, who, as we have seen, had made his fortune and gone to Eng-

land. This house, was then standing on an eminence looking over the North river, and surrounded by a park and garden; it is now reduced to the level of its thousand neighbouring buildings, and degraded to the condition of a tap-room, to what is called the Richmond Hill theatre, at the corner of Varick and Charlton streets, with five streets between it and the river.

*John.* You remember this house, perhaps, far out of town.

*Un.* Yes. So it remained until many years after the revolution. On the 17th of June, 1776, General Gates having been appointed a major-general, congress directed the commander-in-chief to send him on to Canada. By the instructions to Gates from congress, dated the 24th, he is appointed commander of the troops in Canada, with power to appoint a deputy adjutant-general, &c. At this time a plot was discovered in New York, planned by Governor Tryon, and forwarded by David Matthews, whom he had appointed mayor. Matthews and several citizens were implicated, and put in confinement. Some of the continental soldiers had been bribed to enlist for the king's service; one of these was tried as a traitor and mutineer, condemned and shot. His name was Thomas Hickey. Matthews and the other citizens were, after a short confinement, sent on to Litchfield in Connecticut, and such indulgence as might be consistent with safe-keeping was recommended. And now the great fleet and army of Britain arrived at Sandy Hook; and the Americans had a proof that their batteries could not prevent the English ships from passing the city. The Phœnix frigate, and another ship of war, sailed without injury up the North river, (notwithstanding a cannonade from all the guns that could be brought to bear upon them,) and anchored in Tapan bay.

*Wm.* Where did the English army land, sir?

*Un.* On Staten Island; and there General Howe for a time fixed his head-quarters. He had been joined by Governor Tryon, and many gentlemen from New York and New Jersey, who encouraged him with the hope that great numbers would gather in arms round his standard. He appointed Mr. De-lancey of New York, and Mr. Cortland Skinner of Perth Amboy, generals of brigade; and expected from their influence a great accession of tories to his English army. In the mean time, General Washington made every disposition in his power with his motley, undisciplined, and refractory troops, to meet this great and well-appointed army. General Mercer, with what was called the flying camp, was stationed at Perth Amboy, divided by a narrow channel from the enemy, whose sentinels were full in view.

*Wm.* Uncle, you promised to give us some account of the brigadier-generals appointed by congress, as well as of the major-generals, and you have mentioned two already as commanding bodies of troops, and have not told us any thing of their previous history.

*Un.* What two do you allude to?

*Wm.* General Wooster who marched to New York with the Connecticut forces; and now, General Mercer.

*Un.* Of these two gentlemen, as they have approached New York, I must give you some account. And first, General David Wooster was born in Connecticut, in 1710, and consequently was, at the time he encamped at Haerlem, in 1775, sixty-five years of age. He received a liberal education, and early in life entered into the service of the colony in a military capacity. He commanded a company at the taking of Louisburg, by the provincials, in 1745,

and was afterward complimented with a captain's commission in the regular service, under Sir William Pepperel. On the approach of war he resigned his half-pay as a British officer, and engaged actively in forwarding the expedition against Crown Point and Ticonderoga. When congress appointed brigadier-generals, the 22d June, 1775, he was the third on the list. He was ordered from the neighbourhood of New York to join General Schuyler, and embarked for Albany, on the 28th of September. General Wooster, owing to the misfortunes attending our arms in Canada, at one time commanded the retreating troops, and after that expedition, retired to private life; but his native state appointed him their first major-general of militia, in which capacity he lost his life at the age of sixty-seven, in bravely attempting to repulse the British in their attack upon Danbury. He was one of those true patriots who preferred the service of his country to rank or etiquette. General Mercer was a native of Scotland, settled in Virginia, and abandoned the profession of a physician for the dangers of war in the cause of his adopted country. He fell gloriously at Princeton, in January, 1777, in an action which will hereafter arrest your attention. But another brigadier-general had fallen, even before the period at which we have arrived, and was the second nominated by congress—Richard Montgomery. Although he fought and bled far from New York, he was the leader of the New York forces, and was adopted as one of her most estimable children. You have seen how he lamented the absence of his commanding officer, General Schuyler, and although it would be irrelevant to enter into a detail of the war in Canada, I will read to you some extracts, communicated in manuscript, to me, from his letters to that great man, whom he always addressed, as "My Dear

General," in a most respectful and affectionate style. From his camp, near St. Johns, he writes, "I have great dependance on your presence to administer to our many wants." "Should Arnold come in my neighbourhood, has he orders to put himself under my command? You know his ambition, and I need not point out the bad consequences of a separate command." "Colonel Allen passed the St. Lawrence, below St. Johns, with twenty of ours, and fifty Canadians; he was attacked, taken prisoner, and two or three of his men killed. I lament that his imprudence and ambition urged him to this affair single-handed." You may observe the delicacy with which he speaks of this rash attempt of Allen to surprise Montreal, when he ought to have consulted and acted under the orders of his superior officer.

*Wm.* Poor Ethan Allen paid dearly for his forwardness this time.

*Un.* Yes. He was sent to England in irons. The next year he was put on board a frigate and carried to Halifax. There he remained in jail during the summer, and was then removed to New York, where he was in confinement near a year and a half. We shall meet him again when we speak of the provost-jail, and Cunningham, the provost-marshall. To return to Brigadier-general Montgomery. He, in his letters to Schuyler, complains of his troops. In one instance, he says, "I have sent back ten boats with the naked and lazy." In another letter, dated South side St. Johns, October 6th, he says, "Your diligence and foresight have saved us from the difficulties that threatened us, and we are no longer afraid of slavery." "Our army shows great want of military spirit. Our sensible officers swallow every old woman's story that is dropped in their mouths." "There has been shocking embezzle-

ment of the publick stores and moneys." "Pray send me Yorkers, they don't melt away half so fast as their eastern neighbours."

*John.* What does that mean, sir ?

*Un.* I presume that the Eastern militia had just at that time *taken* the liberty to go home. He says, "We want iron, steel, ammunition, a ten-inch mortar." "Your residence at Ticonderoga, has probably enabled us to keep our ground. How much do the publick owe you for your attention and activity!" On the 13th of October, he describes his troops as on the brink of mutiny, owing "to insubordination and want of discipline;" but the surrender of Chamblee changed the face of affairs, and on the 20th, he says, the troops are in high spirits, "the officers of the seventh regiment taken at Chamblee are genteel men. I have had great pleasure in showing them all the attention in my power." He says, he has not in his "camp above seven hundred and fifty men." About the last of October, General Wooster arrived with the Connecticut men. On the 31st of October, Montgomery writes to his friend Schuyler, "I must earnestly request to be suffered to retire, should matters stand on such a footing this winter as to permit me to go off with honour. I have not talents nor temper for such a command. I am under the disagreeable necessity of acting eternally out of character—to wheedle, flatter, and lie. I stand in a constrained attitude. I will bear with it for a short time, but I cannot bear it long." "Mr. Wooster has behaved hitherto much to my satisfaction."

*Wm.* What does he mean, sir, by being under the necessity of acting out of character ?

*Un.* He has already said that his troops were insubordinate and mutinous; that his "sensible officers swallow every old woman's story;" that there is

"shocking embezzlement of stores and moneys." In short, my children, there is no greater delusion existing than the vulgar opinion, that every revolutionary officer or soldier was a patriot or a hero. Justice can never be done to Washington, and his friends, adherents, and supporters, until it is fully understood with what jarring, selfish, and corrupt materials, they had to work out the salvation of their country. You will read, and I hope every American will read, the description General Washington gives of the troops assembled at Cambridge and Roxbury.

*Wm.* Yes, sir, but there were the brave Colonels Prescott and Starke.

*Un.* True, boy; and Whitecombe, and many others. But selfishness, thirst of lucre, jealousy, and insubordination pervaded the mass. By slow degrees, and with seeming reluctance, congress was made sensible, through the remonstrances of Washington, of the remedies necessary to their salvation. In addition to these difficulties, which that great man had to contend with, were the machinations of those who could bully and bluster, or "wheedle, flatter, and lie," without departing from character. When we return to New York island I shall have again to mention the character of the troops at the commencement of the war; and as we proceed, to dwell on the systematick endeavours of intriguers to vilify and overthrow Washington. At present let us finish what we have to say of the heroick Montgomery.

*John.* Who was Colonel Whitcombe, sir?

*Un.* He commanded a regiment before Boston, and it being necessary to remodel the army, it fell to his lot to lose his regiment. Instead of murmuring, he encouraged those who were his late private soldiers to re-enlist, by offering himself as a companion in the ranks. Thus forming a fine contrast to those

gentlemen, who, if their commissions were dated a few weeks or days amiss, retired from the service of their country, rather than sacrifice their rank, and talked loudly of wounded honour, as Arnold did afterward, when others were appointed to rank over him.

*Wm.* But, sir, what became of the good Colonel Whitcombe?

*Un.* Another good officer, Colonel Brewer, who had been appointed to command Whitcombe's regiment, declined in favour of his predecessor, and Whitcombe was restored, while the noble Brewer served under him. These were the true heroes. But, boys, I must go on with my story relative to Montgomery, which will soon be brought to an end, as I do not intend to relate the particulars of the war in Canada. St. Johns surrendered the 3d November, and the 13th, Montreal capitulated. The noble-minded Montgomery says, in a letter to Schuyler, "if your health will not permit you to engage in this affair, Lee ought, by all means, to have command here." He says, "The troops are exceedingly turbulent, and indeed mutinous. My vexation and distress can only be alleviated by reflecting on the great publick advantages which must arise from my unparalleled good fortune." He laments that more gentlemen of education would not engage in the service, and says, that the officers of the "first regiment of Yorkers." were on the point of a mutiny, because he would not stop the clothing of the garrison of St. Johns. "I would not have sullied my own reputation, and disgraced the continental army, by such a breach of capitulation, for the universe." He speaks in high terms of our old friend, Captain John Lamb, but he says, the "rascally Green Mountain boys have left me in the lurch after promising to go down to Quebec." The complaints this gal-

lant gentleman makes of his commissaries and officers are painful and mortifying. In one instance he felt himself so much insulted by a remonstrance which a number of his officers presumed to make against the indulgence he had given "some of the officers of the king's troops," that he immediately resigned his command, and only resumed it upon their submission and apology. To the last, he found dissensions, and a spirit of insubordination among the troops. You know that he attacked Quebec, and was killed. You know, John and William, that this gallant officer was born in the north of Ireland. He served in the English army for some years, but preferring this country, he, in 1772, purchased an estate on the North river, and married a daughter of Judge Livingston, the sister of Chancellor Livingston, and of the late distinguished Edward Livingston.

*Phil.* I have read on his monument in front of St. Paul's church, that he fell in the attack on Quebec, the 31st of December, 1775.

*Un.* Three other brigadier-generals of the continental army were on service in and near the city of New York, in the summer of 1776. I will give you a short notice of each; and first, Nathaniel Greene.

*John.* He was the true friend of Washington and his country.

*Un.* General Greene was born in Rhode Island, and commanded the militia of his native state at Cambridge. Congress appointed him a brigadier-general in June, 1775, and he soon displayed those talents which acquired the confidence of the commander-in-chief. He received the commission of major-general on the 9th of August, 1776; and was intrusted by General Washington with the command on Long Island, but, unhappily for many a brave man, was rendered incapable before the battle of

Brooklyn, by a severe attack of fever. The next I shall mention is Brigadier John Sullivan of New Hampshire, who was appointed in June, 1775, and served in the unfortunate war of the north, but arrived in time to experience the disasters of Brooklyn. He did good service after his exchange. The last brigadier-general I shall now mention is Lord Stirling, who was appointed by congress, in February or March, 1776.

*Wm.* What! an American lord, Uncle?

*Un.* Certainly not, boy. This gentleman claimed to inherit the dignity of an earl from the circumstance that his father's cousin, who was Earl of Stirling, died without male issue. General Lord Stirling was in early life known as Mr. William Alexander, and served as an officer in the old French wars. In 1775, he was appointed to the command of the first continental regiment that was raised in New Jersey, and had the distinction of receiving one of the first votes of thanks granted by congress. It was for the successful results of a daring enterprise projected by him, and accomplished by his embarking with a detachment of his regiment from Elizabethtown, and proceeding in three small unarmed vessels to the outside of Sandy Hook, (while the Asia man-of-war, with her tender, lay in the bay of New York,) and capturing a transport ship of three hundred tuns, armed with six guns, and freighted with stores for the British army. We shall soon see what share he had in the subsequent events of the war. He was ever the firm friend of Washington. Now let us take our usual walk.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Un.* In our last walk out of town you were all struck with surprise at hearing the language of some boys who were playing and quarrelling almost at the same time, and in either case, uttering words shocking to any well educated person. These poor boys have received no education to counteract the effect of the evil examples they have been surrounded with. For such, there is little hope but in the House of Refuge.

*Phil.* Or the Sunday school.

*Un.* It is evident that their parents had not made them attend *that*, or any other school, to any good purpose. Do you remember the idle, blackguard boy, that we saw sitting on the fence, not far from the House of Refuge, in one of our walks?

*Wm.* Yes, sir. And you remarked that, although

little differing in dress from the picture of the "Studious Boy," you presented to us, yet he was a perfect contrast to it.

*Un.* I have procured a little picture of the idler, and now let us compare the two boys. The idle boy is the representative of vacuity and indecision; the other of thought and determined improvement. We will suppose the idler falls in, as is most likely, with such boys as we saw in our last walk; he would then become industrious in evil. He would try to out-do them in expressions of indecency. He would smoke his cigar, and if he could obtain money by attending at the doors of the theatres to beg checks and sell them, he would soon add drinking to smoking. His wants would increase, and to obtain wherewith to satisfy them he would steal, and if not rescued by the House of Refuge, or some other benign agent of Providence, he must go on to be the pest of society, or a sacrifice to its laws. Now look at the studious boy. We may believe that he is poor, and has no father; but he has a good mother, and has been taught his duty to God and his neighbour. He sees the beauty of knowledge, and thirsts for its precious stream. When at play he would be foremost in skill and activity, but his companions would never be the corrupt or profane. When at school, he would be at the head of his class, and teacher of all less quick of perception than himself. Now, shall I tell you his future history?

*Phil.* O, you can't, Uncle!

*Un.* Let me try. His widowed mother cannot keep him at school as long as she wishes, and accepts the offer of a good gentleman, a lawyer, in Albany, to be an attendant in his office. There, Tim—

*Phil.* Is his name Tim?

*Un.* We will call him Timothy Trusty. Tim,

being active and intelligent, executes his master's orders with despatch and punctuality, while he finds time to read without neglecting his duty. There are many words he does not understand; and finding an old Latin grammar of his master's, he studies it. His master observing this, and admiring the boy's general conduct, sends him to a classical school; then in process of time receives him as a regular law student. Timothy becomes a lawyer, and enters into practice with his master.

*Phil.* What becomes of his mother?

*Un.* That's the question of a good boy. He takes a house for her in town, and lives with her, as much her consolation, as a man, as he was her comfort when the barefooted studious boy.

*John.* I don't see, sir, but Timothy Trusty may become president of the United States.

*Phil.* That would be capital!

*Un.* As he did not sit on the fence when a boy, he would probably take a decided stand on the right side when a man. He would be chosen as a member of the state legislature—industrious, honest, intelligent, eloquent, and learned, he must go to congress—he must be chosen as one of the senate—honours and offices seek him; and his good mother sees him president. So much for pictures; now let us go to realities. We have seen that owing to the failure of the attack on Quebec, and other disasters combined, with powerful reinforcements brought to the English by General Burgoyne, our army, dispirited, dying with the small-pox, and in a state of helpless disorganization, was driven with disgrace out of Canada. It was this army that General Gates was sent to command. Congress ordered General Schuyler to raise two thousand Indians to serve in Canada. “Where am I to find them?” was the reply. Adding, that, under present circum-

stances, if the savages could be prevented from joining the enemy, it was as much as could be expected. This he exerted himself to do, and had a council with them at German Flats, at which he made a treaty. But Sir John Johnson, notwithstanding that he had given his parole, counteracted the intentions of Schuyler by instigating the Indians and Highlanders to hostilities against the frontiers. A force was sent to prevent this mischief, and Johnson fled to the Indians and English. He never more returned to Johnstown, but was active with Burgoyne.

*Wm.* A good riddance!

*Un.* General Washington recommended sending on Shee's and Magaw's regiments from Philadelphia, to oppose the threatened attack upon New York; and I will now show you some extracts from a work written by Captain Graydon of Pennsylvania, which gives a more circumstantial account of several transactions on our island, than I have found elsewhere, and a more graphick description of the troops collected for the defence of the city. The Pennsylvania regiments were under the command of General Mifflin, and were at first employed in fortifying the northern end of the island, and building Fort Washington, which, as it stood on the east bank of the Hudson, was supposed adequate, with Fort Lee, opposite, to prevent the passage of the enemy's ships.

*Wm.* You have not told us any thing of General Mifflin, sir.

*Un.* He was a gentleman of Pennsylvania, and afterward its governor. Well educated, and having travelled in Europe, (an advantage more rare then than now,) he had some qualifications for his station. He had served likewise before Boston, so might talk of war to the uninitiated. Graydon says of him, " His manners were better adapted to attract popu-

larity than to preserve it. Highly animated in his appearance, and possessing in an eminent degree the talent of haranguing a multitude, his services in giving motion to the militia, were several times, in the course of the war, felt and acknowledged." His talents were rather brilliant than solid. Mr. Mifflin was deficient in that better judgment which could truly estimate great events or great men, and destroyed his usefulness by overweening self-estimation, which led, as with too many others we must mention, to dissatisfaction with the great commander-in-chief, and secret league with his enemies. Captain Graydon says of him, "He was full of activity and apparent fire, but it rather resembled the transient blaze of light combustibles than the constant, steady flame of substantial fuel." Graydon describes men and events with the accuracy of an observing eye-witness. Read this extract:

*John.* "Among the military phenomena of this campaign, the Connecticut lighthorse ought not to be forgotten. These consisted of a considerable number of old-fashioned men, probably farmers and heads of families, as they were generally middle-aged, and many of them apparently beyond the meridian of life. They were truly irregulars; and whether their clothing, their equipments, or caparisons were regarded, it would have been difficult to have discovered any circumstance of uniformity; though in the features derived from 'local habitation,' they were one and the same. Instead of carbines and sabres, they generally carried fowling-pieces; some of them very long, and such as in Pennsylvania are used for shooting ducks. Here and there, one, 'his youthful garments well saved,' appeared in a dingy regimental of scarlet, with a triangular, tarnished, laced hat. In short, so little were they like modern soldiers, in air or costume, that, dropping the necessa-

ry number of years, they might have been supposed the identical men who had in part composed Pepperil's army at the taking of Louisburg. Their order of march corresponded with their other irregularities. It 'spindled into longitude immense,' presenting so extended and ill-compacted a flank, as though they had disdained the adventitious prowess derived from concentration. These singular dragoons were volunteers who came to make a tender of their services to the commander-in-chief. But they staid not long at New York. As such a body of cavalry had not been counted upon, there was in all probability a want of forage for their *jades*, which, in the spirit of ancient knighthood, they absolutely refused to descend from; and as the general had no use for cavaliers in his insular operations, they were forthwith dismissed with suitable acknowledgments for their truly chivalrous ardour. An unlucky trooper of this school, had by some means or other found his way to Long Island, and was taken by the enemy in the battle of the 27th August. The British officers made themselves very merry at his expense, and obliged him to amble about for their entertainment. On being asked, what had been his duty in the rebel army, he answered that it was *to flank a little, and carry tidings*. Such, at least, was the story at New York, among the prisoners."

Wm. Is it possible that this is true, sir?

Un. I witnessed too many displays of such ill-constituted military corps to doubt it. General Washington in a letter of 10th July, 1776, to the president of congress, says, that the battalions of the Connecticut militia will be very incomplete, and that *that* government had ordered three regiments of their lighthorse to his assistance, but not having the means to support cavalry, he informed the gentlemen that he could not consent to keep their horses, but wished "them-

selves" to remain. It appears that while the generality of the troops were employed with the spade and pickaxe, and the fine regiments from Pennsylvania were daily at work fortifying the banks of Haerlem and Hudson rivers, these highminded "Connecticut lighthorse," as the commander-in-chief says, "notwithstanding their promise" to continue for the defence of New York, were discharged, "having peremptorily refused all kind of fatigue duty, or even to mount guard, claiming an exemption as troopers." I mention these things, boys, that you may know the kind of material Washington had to oppose to the numerous and well-appointed army that was preparing to attack him. These gallant troopers performed one exploit in the city. They paraded at the corner of Wall and Queen streets, where Rivington's printing office and dwelling-house stood, and entering the house, demolished the presses, and threw the types out of the windows, to be *distributed* by the mob who gathered in the streets.

*John.* What became of Mr. Rivington?

*Un.* He secreted himself and found means to join his friends. After visiting England, he returned and published the "Royal Gazette," at New York, as "king's printer." I must give you another extract from Captain Graydon, to read, respecting the troops on York island. This is it.

*John.* "The materials of which the eastern battalions were composed, were apparently the same as those of which I had seen so unpromising a specimen at Lake George. I speak particularly of the officers, who were in no single respect distinguishable from their men, other than in the coloured cockades, which, for this very purpose, had been prescribed in general orders; a different colour being assigned to the officers of each grade. So far from aiming at a deportment which might raise them

above their privates, and thence prompt them to due respect and obedience to their commands, the object was, by humility, to preserve the existing blessing of equality: an illustrious instance of which was given by Colonel Putnam, the chief-engineer of the army, and no less a personage than the nephew of the major-general of that name. ‘What,’ says a person meeting him one day with a piece of meat in his hand, ‘carrying home your rations yourself, colonel!’ ‘Yes,’ says he, ‘and I do it to set the officers a good example.’ But if any aristocratick tendencies had been really discovered by the colonel among his countrymen, requiring this wholesome example, they must have been of recent origin, and the effect of southern contamination, since I have been credibly informed, that it was no unusual thing in the army before Boston, for a colonel to make drummers and fifers of his sons, thereby, not only being enabled to form a very snug, economical mess, but to aid also considerably the revenue of the family chest. In short, it appeared that the sordid spirit of gain was the vital principle of the greater part of the army. The only exception I recollect to have seen, to these miserably constituted bands from New England, was the regiment of Glover from Marblehead. There was an appearance of discipline in this corps; the officers seemed to have mixed with the world, and to understand what belonged to their stations. Though deficient, perhaps, in polish, it possessed an apparent aptitude for the purpose of its institution, and gave a confidence that myriads of its meek and lowly brethren were incompetent to inspire. But even in this regiment there were a number of negroes, which, to persons unaccustomed to such associations, had a disagreeable, degrading effect.”

“Taking the army in the aggregate, with its

equipments along with it, he must have been a novice or a sanguine calculator, who could suppose it capable of sustaining the lofty tone and verbal energy of congress. In point of numbers merely, it was deficient; though a fact then little known or suspected. Newspapers and common report, indeed, made it immensely numerous; and it was represented that General Washington had so many men, that he wanted no more, and had actually sent many home, as superfluous. It is true, there were men enough coming and going; yet his letters of that day, demonstrate how truly weak he was in steady, permanent soldiers."

*Un.* We will now take our exercise, and to-morrow I must tell you of the battle of Brooklyn.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Un.* I mean to give you to-day, as clear a notion as I can of the unfortunate battle of Brooklyn, but will first say a few words of the meeting between Generals Schuyler and Gates. The latter, as we have seen, had been appointed a major-general, and assigned to the command of the troops in Canada. These troops had been forwarded by Schuyler with the intent of commanding them himself in that expedition, but sickness preventing, they had been intrusted to the gallant Montgomery, whose letters we have just read. They were now (under the command of General Sullivan) ordered by the commander of the department, *Schuyler*, to Crown Point; where, in the condition of a sick, dispirited, and defeated army, Gates found them; he not only superseded Sullivan in the command of this force,

but affected to consider himself independent of, if not superior to, Schuyler; and the adherents of Gates have to this time, in printed documents, stated that he had been appointed by congress the commander of the northern department, notwithstanding the most positive testimony to the contrary. Gates had assumed the style and mode befitting the chief officer of a great department. In one of his letters to Washington, he says, "I must take the liberty to animadver a little upon the unprecedented behaviour of the members of your council to their compeers of this department."

*John.* What could induce him to be so bold?

*Un.* He had, during the blockade of Boston by the eastern troops, used those arts which Montgomery said were so adverse to *his* character. Gates could "wheedle and flatter." His manners were specious, as were his talents, and he was indefatigable, by writing and otherwise, in his efforts to attach to himself the eastern members of congress, and other men of influence. He was the boon companion of the gentleman, and the "hail-fellow, well-met," of the vulgar. He saw from the first that Schuyler was unpopular in New England. He was, like his friends Montgomery and Washington, unfitness for wheedling, flattering, and lying; and besides had, in the preceding disputes between the province of New York and New England, maintained the rights of the people who had sent him to the legislature. Gates knew at this time that several members of congress wished him to supersede Schuyler. Elbridge Gerry had, by letter, declared that he wished him to be generalissimo at the north. Messrs. Lovel, Samuel Adams, and others, were his adherents. He kept up a correspondence of a friendly nature with John Adams, but there is no evidence of that great man having appreciated him

to the disadvantage of Schuyler. He had sounded Adams as to the character of Robert Morris, and received a high eulogium in answer. Shortly after, Robert Morris wrote to Gates, and speaking of the disasters in the north, he says, "I find some people attributing this to a source I should never have suspected: is it possible that a man who writes so well and expresses such anxiety for the cause of his country as General S——r does—I say, is it possible that he can be sacrificing the interest of that country to his ambition or avarice? I sincerely hope it is not so, but such intimations are dropped."

*John.* Do you suppose these insinuations have one source alone?

*Un.* I believe that they were encouraged by *one* who took advantage of the prejudices of many. I will mention another instance of the art by which General Gates gained, and attempted to gain, men of influence as agents in his plans of ambition. Connecticut was then a most efficient member of the Union, and Governor Trumbull, as steady a patriot as any on the continent, was the friend of Washington and of his country, but placing great reliance on Gates. He had three sons at this time in the service; if more, I know not. One of these young men was appointed a paymaster-general, another a commissary-general, and the youngest was appointed by Gates, soon after he received his commission of major-general, (which was the 24th of June, 1776,) and was empowered to make such an appointment *for the army in Canada*, his deputy adjutant-general; and this young gentleman he took on with him and retained, although there was no longer an army in Canada. Mr. Joseph Trumbull, the commissary-general, was appointed by the same authority to furnish supplies for the northern department, of which, as you have seen, Schuyler was the com-

mander; and notwithstanding that *that* general had a commissary-general, Mr. Livingston, of his own choice, Gates had influence enough to force Mr. Joseph Trumbull upon him. All this secured to him the attachment of a powerful family, and of the state of Connecticut, where the good old governor was justly esteemed for talents and patriotism.

*John.* Did not General Schuyler oppose these usurpations upon his authority?

*Un.* Yes; or he would not have done his duty to his country. He issued his orders for the relief and safety of the army in Canada, now driven back to his immediate department and command. Gates, on his arrival, refused to submit to the authority of Schuyler, who met this unauthorized disobedience in the most courteous manner, and although the commission of Gates was in such plain terms that none but the wilfully blind could fail to understand it, Schuyler offered to refer the matter in dispute to congress. I have had an opportunity of transcribing part of a letter written by Cominissary-general Trumbull, to his patron, which throws light on the subject, and on the characters of the parties concerned. Read it. It was written from New York.

*John.* "July 5th, 1776." The extract is introduced by some words of your own.

*Un.* Let my words go for their worth. Read on.

*John.* "He mentions letters received on the subject of *his* department, and says, 'by which I find you are in a cursed situation, your authority at an end, and commanded by a person who will be willing to have you knocked in the head, as General Montgomery was, if he can have the money-chest in his power. I expect soon to see you and your suite, back here again.' He adds, that he has shown these letters from his deputy-commissaries to General Washington, and told him that he would order

his agents back again; as a deputy who could have no money from anybody but General Schuyler, could be of no use in that part of the world; further, he says, he told the general he would 'not be answerable for the consequences where his authority and the chief command were both disputed.' "

*Un.* You see by this, my dear children, somewhat of the difficulties Schuyler and Washington had to contend against; and as you will remember the extracts from the letters of Montgomery, you can judge how differently that gallant officer and good man thought of Schuyler, who is here charged with avarice and peculation, if not directly, certainly by implication. Yet we know that this high-souled gentleman advanced his own money for the publick service when the envied chest was empty; and saw his houses, mills, and plantations at Saratoga, committed to the flames by the enemy, without regretting any sacrifice for his country's service. One would suppose, that mean suspicion could not add to this, yet I find the charge against Philip Schuyler of intercepting the letters forwarded by congress to the friends of Gates! It was thus that Schuyler and Washington had to contend against internal as well as external enemies. As early as January, 1776, this persecuted patriot wrote to his friend and commander, "I could point out particular persons of rank in the army, who have frequently declared, that the officer commanding in this quarter, ought to be of the colony from whence the majority of the troops came." He says, he has come to the conclusion "that troops from the colony of Connecticut will not bear with a general from another colony." He laments the "unbecoming jealousy" in a people of "so much publick virtue." Writing to the same, in May, 1776, he alludes to the clamour raised against him, which had been attributed to art-

ful practices of the tories, and says, "I trust it will appear that it was more a scheme calculated to ruin me, than to disunite and create jealousies in the friends of America. Your excellency will please to order a court of inquiry the soonest possible." He had before said that he had reason to apprehend that the tories were not the only ones who propagated evil reports respecting him. He afterward knew full well who were leagued against him.

*Wm.* Is it not strange, sir, that the Connecticut people should object to serve under generals from another colony, and yet be willing to follow a foreign officer?

*Un.* It would appear almost unnatural but for circumstances, some of which I have already touched upon. They were particularly adverse to the people of New York, from the time of old disputes respecting boundaries; they had originally intruded upon and dispossessed the Dutch, and continued to entertain hostile sentiments, clothed in expressions of contempt, against the original settlers of the province; and such have unhappily been repeated to this day. Schuyler had ever been a champion for the rights of New York; and much of what he terms a general aversion to men of other provinces, was personal enmity to him. This was fostered and increased by the arts of a foreign officer, to whom these Americans looked up as almost the only leader whose knowledge could save them. You must recollect that this was early in the struggle. People had no confidence in their own military skill, and saw in Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, men possessing that knowledge which raised them above any provincial. We must recollect that Americans had heard for years of their own inferiority, and of the immense advantages possessed by the British officers. Therefore, it was not unnatural that men

who felt their own deficiency in military tactics (and had almost been made to believe that they were an inferior race, compared to Europeans) should look up to those who had seen some service, and could talk of battles in words of gunpowder. That this servile submission should have continued so long, does appear to me almost unnatural, for we shall see that many of the Americans were ranged under an intriguing foreigner for the overthrow, at a later period, of Washington himself. But let us proceed with the affairs of 1776.

*John.* How, sir, did congress decide the disputed command?

*Un.* In a manner that, one would think, should have covered Horatio Gates with shame. John Hancock wrote to him, that Congress having considered Schuyler's letter to Washington, laid before them by the mutual agreement of the parties disputing, have resolved, that "your command was totally independent of General Schuyler's, while the army was in Canada, but no longer." He says, "the terms in which the resolve relative to your appointment are conceived, seem to show that this was their intention. You were expressly by that resolve to take the command of the troops *in Canada*, words which strongly imply that they had no design to divest General Schuyler of the command while the troops were *on this side Canada*."

*John.* Did this end the dispute?

*Un.* Schuyler's letters to Gates appear frank and friendly. Gates remained as second in command on Lake Champlain, and efforts were made to repel the triumphant enemy. On the 10th of July, General Schuyler wrote to Gates that congress had decided that Mr. Trumbull, and not Mr. Livingston, should supply the northern army. He says, that he had assured congress, that the difference which

had existed between him and General Gates had not caused any ill-will. Thus the good, measure others by themselves. Of the feelings of Schuyler's enemies, we must judge by the fact that a letter from Gates to him a few days afterward, made it necessary for him to repel a base charge or insinuation by words like these. Read.

*John.* "If you or any of the army conceive that any letters are stopped at Albany or elsewhere, by my order, you are mistaken." He then speaks of the post-master's duty, and concludes, "If he should therefore stop any letters going to or from the army, he would be culpable, and merit punishment. I am your most obedient, humble servant."

*Un.* A letter in this indignant style produced a reply from his rival, the amount of which is made known to us by General Schuyler, who writes to Gates on the 2d of August, "Your favour of the 29th was delivered to me within this half hour"—"I experience the finest feelings from your friendly declaration. You will never, my dear sir, out-do me in acts of friendship." In the mean time the expectations of General Gates were more than kept alive by his eastern and other friends; Elbridge Gerry wrote to him from Hartford, "We want very much to see you with the sole command in the northern department, but hope that you will not relinquish your exertions until a favourable opportunity shall effect it." He had previously offered to give him information of the measures of congress, "their causes and moving principles." *Samuel Chase* writes from congress, "I wish you would inform me of your suspicions, and disclose the secret springs which you suppose have influenced men and measures in your department." Schuyler, meantime, was sensible of the prejudices against him, and of the jealousies kept alive by machination. Sincerely

willing to retire, he kept his post and encountered all the difficulties of this unfortunate northern campaign.

*Wm.* I hope, Uncle, you will have to tell us of more cheering occurrences near New York and on Long Island—though I fear not.

*Un.* It was worse here: even worse than the general history of the time would lead us to expect. But we must search for the truth.

*John.* I think, sir, nothing could be worse than the conduct of General Schuyler's enemies.

*Un.* No, boy. The evil that befel us here, at New York, had not that malignant moral poison mingled so grossly in it, as *that* we have exposed and must further develop. Our city had been fortified, first by Lee, and then by Washington, and every approach either by Long Island or by crossing the East river, and attacking from the north and east, had been guarded. Still, it was considered that the place was not tenable against an enemy with a force so greatly superior, and commanding all the adjacent waters. But congress ordered the place to be defended, and their general was bound to obey. On the 4th of July, 1776, General Howe wrote to his government that he was waiting for Lord Howe and the fleet, but had no hopes of peace until the rebel army is defeated; and *that day* congress severed the ties which united America to Great Britain, politically, and the colonies were thenceforth free and independent states. When the Declaration of Independence (which you all know by heart) was received at New York, it was read to the troops, drawn up by brigades, and received with enthusiasm.

*Wm.* That was the day, Uncle!

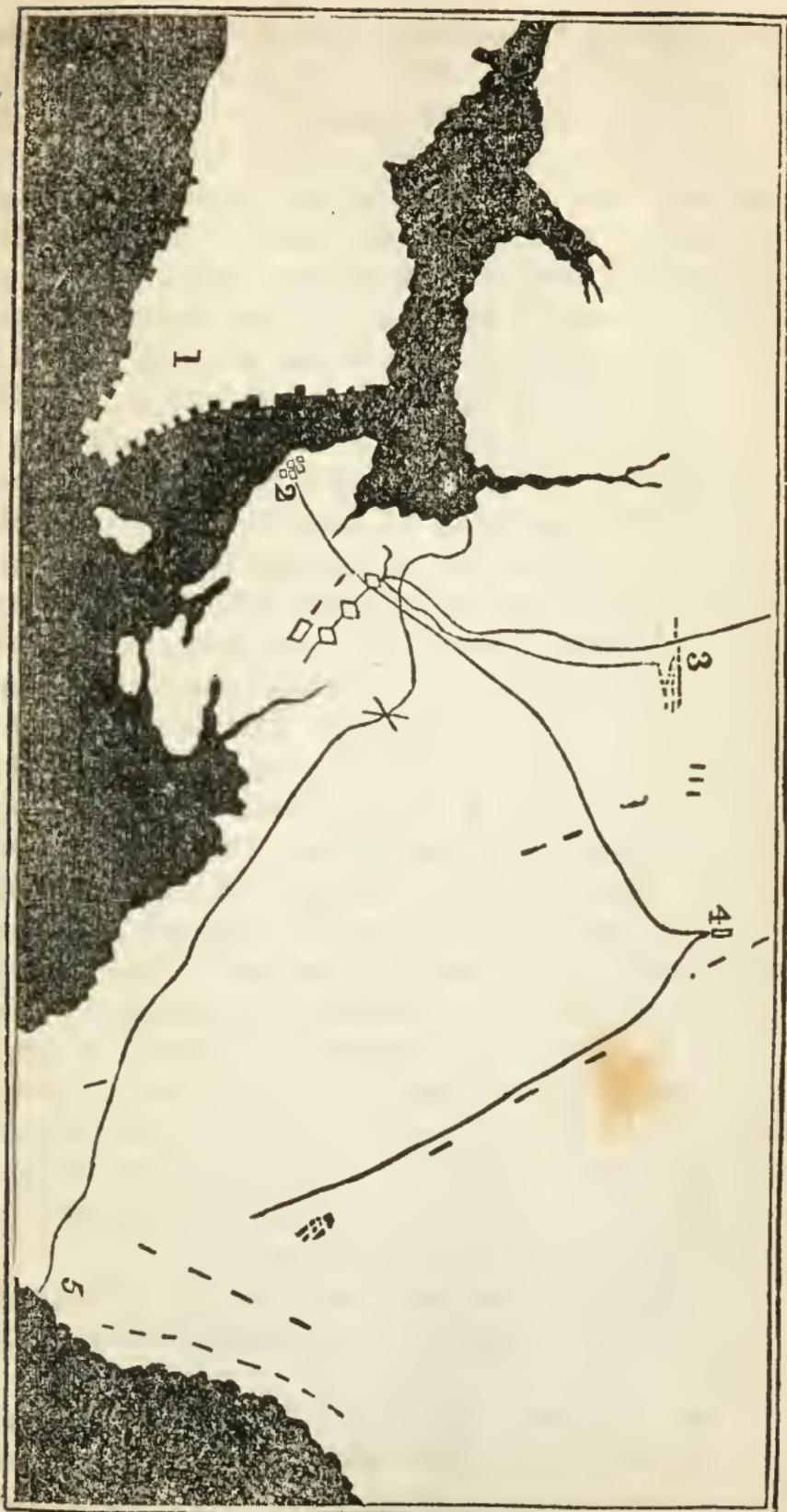
*Un.* But see what difficulties encompassed the country generally, and particularly the army col-

lected on this island. The English ships of war passed up both rivers with impunity. Some were stationed in Flushing bay. The main army landed at Gravesend, on the 22d of August, and indicated an attack by Brooklyn. The American lines extended from the Wallabout across to Gowanus creek. Between the enemy, (who extended his lines from the Narrows over the flat country to the old Jamaica road,) were a succession of wooded hills, which Washington had ordered Major-general Putnam (who had command on the island at this critical juncture, owing to the severe illness of Greene) to defend with his best troops. Washington remained in the city until he could determine whether the enemy intended to attack that post simultaneously with Brooklyn, and ready to throw over reinforcements as they might be wanted more on the island and less in the city. Putnam had two brigadiers under him; Sullivan (who was appointed to command the troops not within the lines) and General Lord Stirling. A few words from a letter of Washington to Putnam gives us somewhat of the character of both men. Read this extract, and my remarks. It is dated 25th August, 1776.

*John.* "To Major-general Putman: Sir, it was with no small degree of concern that I perceived yesterday a scattering, unmeaning, and wasteful fire, from our people at the enemy. No one good consequence can attend such irregularities, but several bad ones will inevitably follow." He says, fear prevents deserters approaching, and mentions other evils, which 'must forever continue to operate,' 'whilst every soldier considers himself at liberty to fire when, and at what, he pleases.' He instructs him in the mode of placing his guards, and appointing the duty of his brigadiers and field officers. He complains of the men burning and plundering houses.

He directs that the wood next to Red Hook should be well attended to."

*Un.* This little plan will show you the situation of the places and armies:—No. 1 is New York. 2, Brooklyn, and Putnam's camp and lines. 4, Flatbush. 5, Denyse's ferry, or the Narrows, and the road from it to Brooklyn is *that* nearest the bay. The line from 5 to 4, and posts beyond the bounds of the map, were occupied by the British. 3 is New Bedford. About three o'clock of the morning of the 27th, Lord Stirling says he was called up and informed by Putnam that the enemy were advancing by the road from Flatbush. His lordship was ordered to take the "two regiments nearest at hand" to meet them. He says, he "was on the road to the Narrows just as the daylight began to appear." He found a third regiment retreating before the British, and took command of them also, with a body of riflemen and some artillery. Shortly after day-break an action commenced, and was continued until nearly eleven o'clock; that is, until General Howe with the main body of the English army had placed himself in the rear of General Stirling, which was the object doubtless he had in view by skirmishing with the Americans, occasionally retiring, and keeping up a distant cannonade. His lordship says, "I saw that the only chance of escaping being all made prisoners, was to pass the creek near the Yellow Mills," Gowanus creek. He found, however, that Lord Cornwallis was likewise between him and the American lines. This detachment he gallantly attacked, with a part of his force, to give an opportunity for the others to escape by fording the creek; which many did. The contest was seen to be in vain, and Lord Stirling, after some attempts to escape, surrendered himself "to General De Heister, the commander of the Hessians."



A great part of his lordship's troops behaved in the most gallant manner. They were unconscious that they were entrapped by superior military skill, and that there was no head to look forth from the American lines to warn them of approaching danger, or direct an effort to save them. General Sullivan says, "I was to have commanded under General Putnam within the lines." But being uneasy about a road through which he foretold that the enemy would come, he went to the hill near Flat-bush, "and, with a picket of four hundred men, was surrounded by the enemy, who had advanced by the very road," he says, "I had foretold." Thus, by concerted movements of the enemy, and no concert whatever on our part, many brave men were killed, and many more were surrendered to the tender mercies of Captain Cunningham, the provost-marshall, and his deputies. Our loss, this unfortunate day, was more than eleven hundred; and the enemy took a position between the wooded hills and the American lines. Our troops were dispirited; and the militia left New York by whole and half regiments. General Washington thought of withdrawing from the city, and more than hinted his wish to destroy it.. However, the safety of the troops at Brooklyn was first to be attended to, and reinforcements drawn from Fort Washington were thrown over. But, as an actor and eye-witness is before us, let us make use of Captain Graydon's unpretending narrative for some of the transactions of this time. Read to us, William.

*Wm.* First, sir, let me ask, was not General Woodhull of the militia made prisoner, likewise, at this time?

*Un.* He was, boy. Nathaniel Woodhull, the compatriot of Philip Schuyler and George Clinton, was surrounded as he was endeavouring to retreat. He

immediately surrendered, without resistance; and notwithstanding was inhumanly wounded by the ruffians who took him, insomuch that he died of the injuries. Read on.

*Wm.* As you have marked it, sir?

*Un.* Yes.

*Wm.* "The forces of the enemy, which had been landed on Long Island, had extended themselves as far as Flatbush and New Lots, between which places and our works at Brooklyn, runs a ridge of pretty lofty hills. Here it was, that, being met by our troops under the command of Generals Sullivan and Stirling, the action of the 27th of August commenced; of which, as I was not present, I know nothing more than is given in the historical accounts of this affair. The manifest superiority of the enemy on this occasion, owing more to mismanagement perhaps on our side, than want of bravery in the troops engaged, rendered it expedient to draw our forces to the point that had been chosen for the contest; and an express was accordingly sent off, requiring the immediate march of Shee's and Magaw's regiments to New York. Being forthwith put in motion, we proceeded with the utmost speed, and reached the city in the afternoon; but by this time the conflict was over, and the firing had ceased. Here, therefore, we were quartered for the night, under orders to be in readiness to cross the East river by break of day in the morning. Glover's regiment was also moved to this place, and was under similar orders for Long Island. Few particulars of the day's combat were yet known, though it was pretty well ascertained that we had been handled severely, and lost a considerable number of officers and men; but what proportion had been killed, or were prisoners, was merely conjecture. New York was at this

time a scene of tumult and confusion, and it might be added, of dismay.

"The circumstance, however, did not deprive me of my appetite, and the inclination for a good supper, which I had not for some months enjoyed; and therefore, as soon as our men were dismissed to their quarters, which was not until dark, Mr. Forrest and myself set out in pursuit of this object. But some of the publick houses were full, others had no eatables in them, and we began to fear that this little enjoyment we had promised ourselves, was not to be obtained; and that we should be obliged to go to bed supperless. After trying the best looking inns to no purpose, we essayed those of more humble appearance, and at length entered one, that was kept by a middle aged matronly lady. We asked if she could give us supper; she gave us the common answer, that there was nothing in the house. We were now about to give the matter up, and had retired beyond the door, with somewhat of a disconsolate air, perhaps, when the good woman seemed touched with compassion for us. She had probably sons of her own; or if not, she was of that sex which, Ledyard tells us, is ever prone to acts of kindness and humanity. She called us back, and told us that she believed she could make out to give us a lobster. At this we brightened up, assuring her, as we really thought, that nothing could be better; and being shown into a small, snug apartment, we called for a pint of wine. We now thought ourselves, instead of outcasts, favourites of fortune, as, upon comparing notes with our brother officers, next day, we found we had reason, since scarcely one of them had been able to procure a mouthful."

"On the next day, early in the forenoon, we were transported to Long Island; marched down to the entrenchments at Brooklyn, and posted on their left

extremity, extending to the Wallabout. The arrival of our two battalions, (Shee's and Magaw's, which always acted together,) with that of Glover, had the effect I have always found to be produced by a body of men under arms, having the appearance of discipline. Although, owing to the dysentery which had prevailed in our camp, our number was so reduced, that the two regiments could not have amounted to more than eight hundred men, making in the whole, when joined with Glover's, about twelve or thirteen hundred; yet it was evident that this small reinforcement inspired no inconsiderable degree of confidence. The faces that had been saddened by the disasters of yesterday, assumed a gleam of animation on our approach; accompanied with a murmur of approbation in the spectators, occasionally greeting each other with the remark, that *these were the lads that might do something.* Why it should be so, I know not, but the mind instinctively attaches an idea of prowess, to the silence, steadiness, and regularity of a military assemblage; and a hundred well-dressed, well-armed, and well-disciplined grenadiers, are more formidable in appearance, than a disjointed, disorderly multitude of a thousand. Our regiments, to be sure, could not arrogate such perfection; but that they were distinguished in our young army, may be inferred from an official letter from General Washington, wherein he states that 'they had been trained with more than common attention.' To sustain the duty now imposed upon us, required both strength of body and of mind. The spot at which we were posted, was low and unfavourable for defence. There was a *fraised* ditch in its front, but it gave little promise of security, as it was evidently commanded by the ground occupied by the enemy, who entirely enclosed the whole of our position, at the distance of but a few hundred paces.

It was evident, also, that they were constructing batteries, which would have rendered our particular situation extremely ineligible, to say the least of it. In addition to this discomfort, we were annoyed by a continual rain, which, though never very heavy, was never less than a searching drizzle, and often what might, with propriety, be called a smart shower. We had no tents to screen us from its pitiless pelting ; nor, if we had had them, would it have comported with the incessant vigilance required, to have availed ourselves of them, as, in fact, it might be said, that we lay upon our arms during the whole of our stay upon the island. In the article of food, we were little better off. We had, indeed, drawn provisions, whose quality was not to be complained of. Our pickled pork, at least, was good ; but how were we to cook it ? As this could not be done, it was either to be eaten as it was, or not eaten at all ; and we found, upon trial, that boiling it, although desirable, was not absolutely necessary ; and that the article was esculent without culinary preparation. I remember, however, on one of the days we were in this joyless place, getting a slice of a barbecued pig, which some of the soldiers had dressed at a deserted house which bounded our lines.

" There was an incessant skirmishing kept up in the daytime between our riflemen and the enemy's irregulars ; and the firing was sometimes so brisk as to indicate an approaching general engagement. This was judiciously encouraged by General Washington, as it tended to restore confidence to our men, and was, besides, showing a good countenance to the foe.

" On the morning after our first night's watch, Colonel Shee took me aside and asked me what I thought of our situation. I could not but say, I thought it a very discouraging one. He viewed it

in the same light, he said, and added, that if we were not soon withdrawn from it, we should inevitably be cut to pieces. So impressed was he with this conviction, that he desired me to go to the quarters of General Reed, and to request him to ride down to the lines, that he might urge him to propose a retreat without loss of time. I went, but could not find him at his quarters, or at any of the other places where it was likely he might be. It was not long, however, before he came to our station, and gave the colonel an opportunity of conferring with him. This day passed off like the last, in unabating skirmishing and rain. After dark, orders were received and communicated to us regimentally, to hold ourselves in readiness for an attack upon the enemy; to take place in the course of the night. This excited much speculation among the officers, by whom it was considered a truly daring undertaking, rendered doubly so from the bad condition of our arms, so long exposed to the rain; and although we had bayonets, this was not the case with the whole of our force, upon whom we must depend for support. It was not for us, however, to object to the measure: we were soldiers, and bound to obey. Several nuncupative wills were made upon the occasion, uncertain as it was whether the persons to whom they were communicated would survive, either to prove or to execute them. I was for a while under the impression that we were to fight; and, in the language of the poet, was 'stiffening my sinews and summoning up my blood,' for what, with the rest, I deemed a desperate encounter. But when I came to consider the extreme rashness of such an attempt, it suddenly flashed upon my mind, that a retreat was the object; and that the order for assailing the enemy, was but a cover to the real design. The more I reflected upon it, the more I was convinced that I

was right; and what had passed in the morning with Colonel Shee, served to confirm me in my opinion. I communicated my conjecture to some of the officers, but they dared not suffer themselves to believe it well founded, though they gradually came over to my opinion; and by midnight they were, for the most part, converts to it. There was a deep murmur in the camp which indicated some movement; and the direction of the decaying sounds, was evidently towards the river. About two o'clock, a cannon went off, apparently from one of our redoubts, 'piercing the night's dull ear,' with a tremendous roar. If the explosion was within our lines, the gun was probably discharged in the act of spiking it; and it could have been no less a matter of speculation to the enemy, than to ourselves. I never heard the cause of it; but whatever it was, the effect was at once alarming and sublime; and what with the greatness of the stake, the darkness of the night, the uncertainty of the design, and extreme hazard of the issue whatever might be the object, it would be difficult to conceive a more deeply solemn and interesting scene. It never recurs to my mind, but in the strong imagery of the chorus of Shakspeare's Henry the Vth, in which, is arrayed in appropriate gloom, a similar interval of dread suspense and awful expectation.

"As our regiment was one of those appointed to cover the retreat, we were, of course, among the last to be drawn off, and it was near daybreak, before we received orders to retire. We were formed without delay, and had marched near half-way to the river, when it was announced that the British lighorse were at our heels. Improbable as was the circumstance, it was yet so strenuously insisted upon, that we were halted and formed, the front rank kneeling with presented pikes, which we had

with us, to receive the charge of the supposed assailants. None, however, appeared; and the alarm must have proceeded from the fear of those who gave it, magnifying the noise of a few of our own horsemen into that of squadrons of the enemy. We again took up the line of march, and had proceeded but a short distance, when the head of the battalion was halted a second time. The orders we had received were erroneous: we were informed that we had come off too soon, and were commanded with all expedition to return to our post. This was a trying business to young soldiers; it was, nevertheless, strictly complied with, and we remained not less than an hour in the lines before we received the second order to abandon them. It may be supposed we did not linger; but though we moved with celerity, we guarded against confusion, and under the friendly cover of a thick fog, reached the place of embarkation without annoyance from the enemy, who, had the morning been clear, would have seen what was going on, and been enabled to cut off the greater part of the rear. One of my soldiers being too feeble to carry his musket, which was too precious to be thrown away, I took it from him, and found myself able to carry it, together with my own fusee. On attaining the water, I found a boat prepared for my company, which immediately embarked, and taking the helm myself, I so luckily directed the prow, no object being discernible in the fog, that we touched near the centre of the city. It was between six and seven o'clock, perhaps later, when we landed at New York; and in less than an hour after, the fog having dispersed, the enemy was visible on the shore we had left."

*John.* Was not this a masterly retreat, sir?

*Un.* Scarcely without a parallel. Now we have escaped so great a danger, let us take our daily walk.

## CHAPTER X.

*Wm.* Uncle, I wish we could go and walk over the ground of the battle of Brooklyn.

*Un.* It is not to be found, boy. All is now one great city. The hills and woods have vanished; the creeks and marshes are converted to the solid foundations for palaces and temples, and Brooklyn now looks to New York as Pera and Galata do to Constantinople. We could not even trace the roads which at that time led from the village of Brooklyn to the larger adjacent hamlets.

*John.* General Howe did not attempt to cross from Brooklyn, sir, or to cannonade the city.

*Un.* No. His object was to preserve the houses for his army, and to get between Washington and the main land. He pushed forward his forces to Hell-gate, occupying an extent of nine miles, and evidently intended to cross the East river or sound, so as to enclose the Americans on the island of Manhattan. To guard against these indications, the continental army was divided into three parts. Five thousand men remained in the town. A body supposed to be nine thousand were near Kingsbridge, and the remainder lined the shores opposite to the enemy. While these military movements were going on, Lord Howe, to take advantage of the recent victory, paroled General Sullivan, and attempted to negotiate with congress without acknowledging them as a political body. He, through Sullivan, expressed his desire to have a conference with some of the members, and offered to meet them where they should appoint. He said, that he and General Howe had powers to settle the dispute on terms advantageous to both the contending parties. That he wished the compromise to take place before either

America or Great Britain could be said to be compelled to it. The answer returned was, "that congress being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, cannot, with propriety, send any of its members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that they being desirous of establishing a peace on reasonable terms, would send a committee to learn whether he had authority or not." Accordingly, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge passed over to Staten Island, from Perth Amboy; and, on their return, reported that Howe had received them politely, on the 11th of September; he observed that he could not treat with them as a committee of congress; but was glad of the opportunity of a conference with them as private gentlemen. They answered, that he might consider them in what light he pleased, and make any propositions; but they could consider themselves in no other character than that in which they were announced. Howe's propositions amounted to the return of the colonies to their allegiance; and the committee let him know *that* was not now to be expected, and so the fruitless conference ended.

*John.* General Washington soon withdrew all his troops from New York, sir, did he not?

*Un.* Yes; and not too soon. Too much reliance had been placed upon a chevaux-de-frise, which General Putnam, in a letter to Gates, prides himself upon having invented, but which proved inefficient. General Greene pressed the evacuation of New York, and pointed out the ease with which the enemy could land on either side the island, and throw strong lines across, supported at each end by their ships: this would divide the American army, and force those in the town to capitulate, or fight to great disadvantage with a very superiour adver-

sary. Greene strenuously advised the destruction of the city.

*John.* That would have been a great pity, sir.

*Un.* It was his wish that the enemy should not find shelter there.

*Wm.* But it had been fortified, and I would have fought these proud foreigners in every street.

*Un.* Unfortunately, the army General Washington commanded, was generally more disposed to run away than fight, and very little inclined to obey their officers.

*Wm.* Do you say so, Uncle?

*Un.* You must know the truth, boys. As to the city, it had been fortified at every point—the spade had been liberally used. Fort George—the battery below and to the south of it. The wharves and streets had redoubts and breastworks. Bayard's mount was crowned by a fort, and called Bunker's hill. Corlear's hook was surrounded by batteries, and lines crossed the island at various distances. But Washington saw that the enemy could surround the town—their troops had possession of the islands, and their ships passed his batteries unharmed, on either side of the city. He had no confidence in his army, and little command over the best of his troops: reluctantly he agreed with his council of war, to abandon a place that had cost so much labour to strengthen for defence, and which he knew the congress and people expected him to hold. Still he hoped to make a stand on Manhattan island at Haerlem heights, Fort Washington and Kingsbridge. At the council, many thought the post should be retained; but Greene saw the danger of the attempt, or even of the measures resolved upon of withdrawing a part of the army to the forts and lines at Kingsbridge; he urged an immediate retreat from the island, and burning the city and

suburbs. However, against the destruction of the place the congress had determined ; and as it could not be defended by troops without discipline, and inferior both in spirit and numbers, all Washington could do was to withdraw his forces and stores, with as much safety as circumstances permitted. About the middle of September, events occurred which convinced the general and all his officers that a speedy retreat from New York was necessary. The Connecticut militia he directed to be withdrawn, and stationed on the sound, and opposite the enemy's force on Long Island. To remove the stores was an object of great consequence and difficulty, while an attack was momentarily expected. To secure an overflowing hospital, and give every convenience to a great number of sick, was another service that tasked this great man's care and humanity : and every moment the enemy were taking stations with the ships of war, or divisions of soldiers, that increased the difficulty of evacuating the city. On the 13th of September, four frigates had passed between Governor's island (of which the English had taken full possession) and Long Island, through Buttermilk Channel, and anchored opposite Stuyvesant's house, above the town. Other ships passed the city, up the North river, and were stationed off Bloomingdale. These last prevented the removal of stores, or the sick, by water. General Washington now shifted his head-quarters to Colonel Morris's house, at Haerlem heights ; and, on the 15th, the enemy attacked his redoubts at several points. The general finding that they were attempting to land at Kipp's bay, where two brigades were posted, rode thither, and found his soldiers flying in every direction, even before a boat of the enemy had approached the shore. The appearance alone of an advance guard, caused the brigades of Fellows and Parsons

(notwithstanding the efforts of these officers to keep them in their redoubts) to fly in the most scandalous confusion. About fifty men of the enemy were landed, and Washington was left by his countrymen, alone, exposed to their fire, and for a moment wishing for death rather than the power to witness such dastardly conduct. It is said, that he threatened the cowards with death by his pistols; but they feared the English more than their commander, who was in a manner forced from the spot by those around him. He soon recovered his equanimity—issued orders for covering the retreat, and securing the heights of Haerlem; and the enemy gained a footing on the island without farther advantage than the capture of part of the baggage of the American army.

In the retreat from New York, it is said that, by some error, Silliman's brigade remained too long in the city, and by the cowardly behaviour of the men at Kipp's bay, were nearly cut off. Colonel Knox led them to the fort on Bunker's hill, or Bayard's mount, where they must have surrendered; but Burr, then an aid to Putnam, saw their situation, and marched them, by cross roads, towards the west side of the island, and in safety they joined the main army. This Bunker's hill fort was on a small cone-shaped mount, to the west of the junction of Mott and Grand streets, and could not have contained half a brigade. Major Burr, being familiar with our island, knew that by crossing the *new road*, now Broadway, about the site of the present Grand street, he could lead these lost men along the edge of a swamp, and to the woods which surrounded the house, formerly Washington's head-quarters: and that, by then taking the Greenwich road, he must avoid the enemy. The service was important, and reflects honour on Burr's military talents.

*John.* Why did not Colonel Knox lead these men by the way which Burr pointed out?

*Un.* Colonel Knox and the men with him were strangers on this island; and finding that the enemy had possession of the Boston road, and, for any thing he could know, all that part of the island between them and the army, Knox seems to have selected this cone-shaped hill, with its redoubts, as a place for at least temporary defence. Bayard's mount, or Bunker's hill, looked down on the city, from which it was separated by the *kolch*, or fresh water.

*John.* I think you have said that this hill was near Mott street?

*Un.* At the time of which we speak, a few straggling houses marked the Bowery, or Boston road. The new road had been cut through the hills, and partially levelled. This extended to Sandy hill, and is now a part of Broadway. A crooked cross-road led from the new road to the Bowery, commencing at what is now the corner of Grand street. Between this crooked path and the Kolch, were the house and garden of Nicholas Bayard, with the hill called Bayard's mount. To the north and east were orchards and woods. To the west, Mr. Knox could have seen only swamps and woods.

*Wm.* But how did Colonel Burr know this ground better?

*Un.* He had been familiar with the island from childhood, and was, for a short time, a member of General Washington's family, when his head-quarters were at Richmond hill, the house I have mentioned to you as built by an English paymaster-general. This place, now the corner of Varick and Charlton streets, was on an eminence surrounded by woods; and between it and the river, lay the road to Greenwich and Bloomingdale. Burr, says his biographer, rode out several times with the

general, and by that and other means knew the sheltered and devious ways leading from Bayard's mount to the North river road. After crossing the new road, and descending a hill, they would be concealed, in a great measure; and by passing through the woods north of Richmond hill, would gain the safe and secluded Greenwich road.

*John.* This was valuable service, sir.

*Un.* And Mr. Burr complained that the general took no notice of it; for which, and other neglects, Burr became the avowed enemy of Washington, and adherent of Lee and Gates.

*Wm.* Did the commander-in-chief wrong him, sir?

*Un.* The character of the two men must answer that question. My opinion is, that the licentious and unprincipled conduct of Mr. Burr, when he left General Washington's family and became an aid to Putnam, so far developed his selfish character, as to prevent the general's favour, or future protection. If he did him injustice, I need not say that he was wronged.

*Phil.* It seems very strange to me, Uncle, to hear you talk of leading soldiers through swamps and woods, and over hills, here, in the middle of New York!

*Un.* Right, boy. And when I look for these hills, woods, and swamps, so familiar to me sixty years ago, the present scene "seems very strange" to me. But we must attend to movements on another part of the island, which, although changed, is not yet covered with streets, houses, and churches. The American army now occupied the heights of Haerlem, and the British held the town and the plain between, far outnumbering, in real soldiers, our disheartened and downcast countrymen. But a skirmish took place which revived the courage of

the Americans, and called from the mortified commander-in-chief the cheering words, "our troops behaved well!"

*Wm.* Tell us something of *this*, Uncle, to make up for Kipp's bay.

*Un.* The general, in his letter of the 18th of September, 1776, to congress, says, that, seeing several large bodies of the enemy in motion on the plain below the heights, he rode down to the outposts to prepare for their reception if they should attack. When he arrived, he says, he heard a firing, which, he was informed, was between a party of our rangers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Knowlton, and an advanced party of the enemy.

*Wm.* I remember that name, sir.

*John.* Was it the same brave Captain Knowlton who fought at the rail fence by the banks of the Mystic?

*Wm.* And with his hardy Connecticut men covered the retreat of good old Colonel Prescott and his men, when their ammunition was expended?

*Un.* He acted with sturdy Starke and the New Hampshire men, while Prescott fought in the redoubt. I am glad to find that you do not forget the heroes of Bunker's hill. At this time a lieutenant-colonel, Knowlton commanded a body of rangers, composed of volunteers from the New England regiments; and, under such an officer, they were equal to any troops in the world.

*Wm.* I wish they had been at Kipp's bay.

*Un.* General Washington being informed that the body of the enemy, who kept themselves concealed in the wood, was greater than Knowlton's force, ordered three companies of Virginians, under Major Leitch, to his assistance, with orders to try to get in the enemy's rear, while a disposition was making as if to attack them in front, thereby to draw their

whole attention that way. This succeeded ; and the British, on the appearance of the party advancing in front, ran down the hill, and took possession of some fences and bushes, and commenced a distant and ineffectual firing. The parties under Knowlton and Leitch commenced their attack too soon, and rather on the enemy's flank than in the rear. In a little time Major Leitch was brought off wounded, having received three balls through his side.

*Wm.* But Colonel Knowlton was left ?

*Un.* In a very short time after, *he* fell, mortally wounded. Still their men fought on undaunted ; and the general sent detachments from the eastern regiments, and from the Maryland troops, to their support. These re-enforcements charged gallantly, drove the enemy out of the wood into the plain, and were pushing them from thence, having, as the general says, "silenced their fire, in a great measure," when the British commander, preparing to send on a large re-enforcement, Washington ordered a retreat. The foreign troops that had been engaged consisted of the second battalion of light infantry, a battalion of Highlanders, and three companies of Hessian sharp-shooters, the whole under the command of Brigadier-general Leslie. This affair, trifling in itself, and attended by the loss of two gallant officers, one of them before distinguished for courage and conduct, was of great consequence in giving confidence to the American troops. It was a contrast to the shameful rout of the day before, and proved that their foes were not invincible.

*Wm.* Well! I hope we shall be a match for the English after this !

*Un.* Not yet, my good boy. I have to tell of sad disasters before the tide of battle turned in our favour ; but first we must look to the fate of the city after the enemy took possession of it. A few days

after the death of Colonel Knowlton, an eighth part of New York was destroyed by fire. This was attributed by the English to design. If so, it was certainly without the knowledge or approbation of any publick body or responsible officer, though many ardently desired it.

*John.* General Greene had advised it.

*Un.* Captain John Lamb, who had acted with McDougal and Sears before the war, and had since been a brave and efficient officer in Canada with the lamented Montgomery, was at this time a prisoner on board an English ship in the harbour of New York. Called up to view the flames, he expressed his delight. "What," said the captain of the vessel, "do you rejoice in the destruction of your native place?" "I do," was the reply; "it will afford no shelter to your countrymen."

*Wm.* I believe I should have felt so too.

*John.* I am sure I should not. What are the authentick accounts of this great fire, sir?

*Un.* You will find in Sparks's Washington that Howe wrote to his government, and attributed the fire to design; saying, that matches and combustibles had been prepared with great art, and applied by incendiaries in several places. Many, he says, were detected, and some killed upon the spot by the soldiers. He computes the destruction at one fourth of the town.

*John.* Is there any American account of this fire, sir?

*Un.* Yes. Mr. David Grim, a very respectable inhabitant of New York, who remained in the city when the British took possession, has left us this. Read it, William.

*Wm.* "The fire of 1776 commenced in a small wooden house, on the wharf, near the Whitehall slip. It was then occupied by a number of men and wo-

men, of a bad character. The fire began late at night. There being but a very few inhabitants in the city, in a short time it raged tremendously. It burned all the houses on the east side of Whitehall slip, and the west side of Broad street to Beaver street. A providential and happy circumstance occurred at this time: the wind was then southwesterly. About two o'clock that morning, the wind veered to the southeast: this carried the flames of the fire to the northwestward, and burned both sides of Beaver street to the east side of Broadway, then crossed Broadway to Beaver lane, and burning all the houses on both sides of Broadway, with some few houses in New street, to Rector street, and to John Harrison, esquire's, three-story brick house, which house stopped the fire on the east side of Broadway; from thence it continued burning all the houses in Lumber street, and those in the rear of the houses on the west side of Broadway to St. Paul's church, then continued burning the houses on both sides of Partition street, and all the houses in the rear (again) of the west side of Broadway to the North river. The fire did not stop until it got into Mortkile street, now Barclay street. The college yard and the vacant ground in the rear of the same, put an end to this awful and tremendous fire.

"Trinity church being burned, was occasioned by the flakes of fire that fell on the south side of the roof. The southerly wind fanned those flakes of fire in a short time to an amazing blaze, and it soon became out of human power to extinguish the same, the roof of this noble edifice being so steep that no person could go on it.

"St. Paul's church was in the like perilous situation. The roof being flat, with a balustrade on the eaves, a number of citizens went on the same, and extinguished the flakes of fire as they fell on the

roof. Thus, happily, was this beautiful church saved from the destruction of this dreadful fire, which threatened the ruin thereof, and that of the whole city.

"The Lutheran church being contiguous to houses adjoining the same fire, it was impossible to save it from destruction. This fire was so furious and violently hot, that no person could go near it, and there were no fire engines to be had at that time in the city.

"The number of houses that were burned and destroyed in this city at that awful conflagration, were thus, viz.: from Mortkile street to Courtlandt street, one hundred and sixty-seven; from Courtland street to Beaver street, one hundred and seventy-five; from Beaver street to the East river, one hundred and fifty-one: total, four hundred and ninety-three.

"There being very few inhabitants in the city at the time, and many of those were afraid to venture at night in the streets, for fear of being taken up as suspicious persons.

"An instance to my knowledge occurred. A Mr. White, a decent citizen, and house-carpenter, rather too violent a loyalist, and latterly, had addicted himself to liquor, was, on the night of the fire, hanged on a tavern sign-post, at the corner of Cherry and Roosevelt streets. Several of the citizens were sent to the provost-guard for examination, and some of them remained there two and three days, until they could give satisfactory evidence of their loyalty.

"Mr. Hugh Gain, in his Universal Register for the year 1787, page 119, says, New York is about a mile and a half in length, and half a mile broad, containing, before the fires on the 21st of September, 1776, and 3d of August, 1778, about four thou-

sand two hundred houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants."

*Un.* Over the ruins left by this fire I have wandered when a boy in every direction. You observe by Mr. Grim's account that the houses on the west side of Broadway, and which were south of Beaver street, escaped the conflagration, and it was in these, that the English generals lived; what is now No. 1, being head-quarters. I must observe that the houses in Broadway, north of Trinity churchyard, were not burned. The City Tavern was on part of the site of the present City Hotel. Between this and St. Paul's church the houses were small, and most of them of wood. The last brick houses in the town were next beyond the church. The ruins on the southeast side of the town were converted into dwelling places by using the chimneys and parts of walls which were firm, and adding pieces of spars, with old canvass from the ships, forming hovels, part hut and part tent. This was called "Canvass-town;" and was the receptacle and resort of the vilest dregs brought by the army and navy of Britain, with the filthiest of those who fled to them for refuge.

*Wm.* Uncle, let us go on with the war.

*Un.* First let us take our walk; and to-morrow I will tell of the fate of more brave men.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Un.* There is a small island near Hell-gate which was, in 1776, called Montresor's island. The British had possession of this place, and in an attempt to surprise their garrison, another gallant officer lost his life: this was Major Thomas Henly. But he

fell a volunteer in an expedition for his country's service, and instantly expired after receiving a shot, surrounded and lamented by his friends. But a more lamentable tale I have to tell of the fate of a fine young man who voluntarily risked the meeting of an inglorious death among his country's enemies, exposed to brutal taunts, and that, without the hope or promise of other reward than an approving conscience. This intelligent young man, late a student at Yale college, and now a captain in Knowlton's Rangers, being informed of the great lack of information respecting the enemy, after the retreat from Long Island offered to go among them in disguise, and bring accurate statements to General Washington.

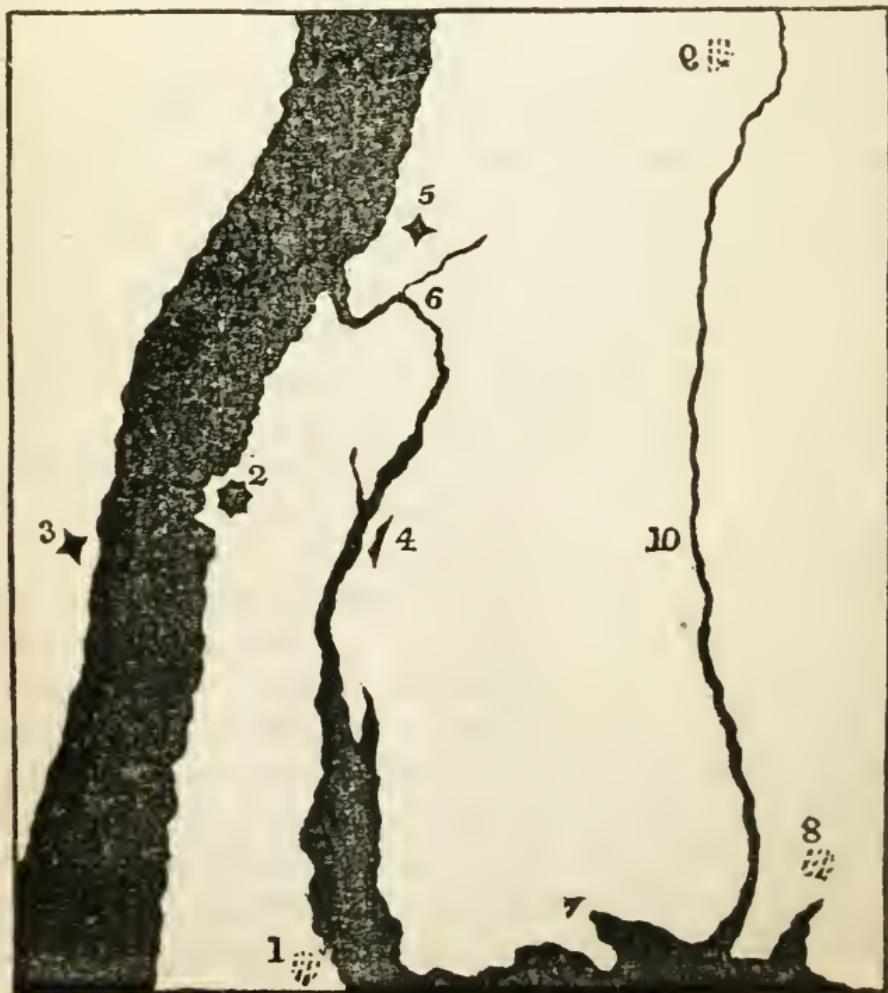
*Wm. A spy!*

*Un.* Yes. A spy; but from pure motives. All the world has heard of Major André. He has been sung by poets, and monuments have been raised to him. He fell into the snare he had contrived with a traitor for the destruction of thousands; but Captain Hale, who died, only lamenting that he had "but one life to sacrifice for his country," has, until recently, been unnoticed by history; and no stone tells where his bones were interred.

*John.* What is known of the manner of his death?

*Un.* He passed in disguise through the English posts on Long Island, and had made such observations as an intelligent gentleman alone could make; but in attempting to return he was apprehended, and carried before General Howe. He acknowledged his object and rank, and was delivered over to the provost-marshall, Cunningham, for execution. This savage added all in his power to the bitterness of death. The presence of a clergyman was denied him. He was permitted to write to his mother and other friends, but the letters were destroyed.

Thus, unknown to all around him and mocked by ruffian executioners, died as fine a young man as America could boast, breathing his last in prayers for his country. It is said, Cunningham gave as a reason for destroying the young man's letters, that the rebels should not see how firmly one of their army could meet death.—Let us resume the military history of the two contending hosts. General Howe, finding that the position taken by Washington was too strong to be attacked in front, moved his main army higher up the sound, and crossed over to Frog's Point. This rendered it necessary for a change of position on the American part. Accordingly, leaving a garrison



at Fort Washington, the army was marched to White Plains. General Lee was now with Washington; and General Greene had command at Fort Lee, opposite to the garrison left on York island. By this little map you will see the situation of the principal places mentioned in the narrative. Number 1 is Haerlem. 2, Fort Washington. 3, Fort Lee. 4, the English redoubts raised to cover the crossing Haerlem river. 5, Fort Independence. 6, Kingsbridge. 7, Morrisania. 8, West Chester. 9, East Chester. 10, The river Bronx. Between Forts Washington and Lee had been placed several contrivances to prevent the English ships passing up the Hudson, but they were found to be useless.

*John.* Which must have rendered these forts useless, I think.

*Un.* It was so. While Howe moved his army from Frog's Point to New Rochelle, he was attacked successfully by skirmishing parties behind stone walls. At White Plains an action took place without decisive advantage to either party, and Washington, taking a stronger position, expected and awaited an attack. A rain storm intervened; and the Americans withdrew to the heights of North Castle, where their adversary deemed it improper to assault them. Leaving General Lee at this post, the commander-in-chief crossed the North river to Fort Lee, and from thence to Hackinsac. Howe seized this opportunity to attack Fort Washington, left with too slender a garrison under the command of Colonel Magaw. Works were erected on Haerlem river to cover the crossing of the English, which nothing could impede. Now, William, you may read again from Captain Graydon, who, as an eye-witness, and a man of observation, places men and things before us as none but such can do. But first read this extract by another hand, as a more

general description of the place attacked, and the mode of attack.

*Wm.* "Fort Washington stood on an eminence, situated on the margin of the Hudson, or North river, about two miles and a half below Kingsbridge. The access to the level on the top of it, is steep and difficult on every side, except on the south, where the ground is open, and the ascent gradual, to the fort. The hill extends along the North river about half a mile from the fort; and at the termination of it were some small works, which, with the natural strength of the place, were deemed a sufficient protection against the enemy, in that quarter.

"Nearly opposite to the fort, on the west side of Haerlem river, a body of men was posted to watch the motions of the enemy, who had erected works on the high and commanding ground east of that river, apparently with a design of covering a landing of troops in that part of the island of New York. Two lines extended from the vicinity of Haerlem river, across the island, to the North river, and were in length each about a mile. The first line towards New York, intersected the great road leading to Kingsbridge, after the height is ascended from Haerlem plains: it was a slight intrenchment, with a few weak bastions, without platforms for cannon, and furnished with no other ordnance than a few old iron pieces of small calibre, scarcely fit for use, and an iron six pounder mounted on trucks. The second line was stronger; but on the day of the attack of Fort Washington, was, from necessity, wholly without defence, either of troops, or artillery of any description. Colonel Magaw, who commanded on the island, remained in the fort; Colonel Rawlins, with his regiment of riflemen, was posted on the rear of Mount Washington; Colonel Baxter, with his regiment of militia, on Haerlem river, opposite

Fort Washington; and Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, at the first line, about two and a half miles from the fort, with about eight hundred men, including a re-enforcement of a hundred militia, sent him about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning.

"The operations of the enemy were announced early in the morning, by a cannonade on Colonel Rawlins' position, and a distant one, from the heights of Morrisania, on the line occupied by Colonel Cadwalader; the former with the view of facilitating the attack on that point, by three thousand Hessians: the latter, to favour the approach of Lord Percy with one thousand six hundred men.

"At ten o'clock in the morning, a large body of the enemy appeared on Haerlem plains, preceded by their field-pieces, and advanced with their whole body towards a rocky point of the height, which skirted the plains in a southern direction from the first line, and at a considerable distance from it—and, commencing a brisk fire on the small work constructed there, drove out the party which held it, consisting of twenty men, and took possession of it: the men retiring with the piquet-guard to the first line. The enemy, having gained the heights, advanced in column, on open ground, towards the first line; whilst a party of their troops pushed forward and took possession of a small unoccupied work in front of the first line; from whence they opened their fire with some field-pieces and a howitzer, upon the line, but without effect. When the column came within proper distance, a fire from the six pounder was directed against it; on which, the whole column inclined to their left, and took post behind a piece of woods, where they remained. As it was suspected that they would make an attempt on the right of the line, under cover of the wood, that part was strengthened.

"Colonel Rawlins was some time late in the morning attacked by the Hessians, whom he fought with great gallantry and effect, as they were climbing the heights; until the arms of the riflemen became useless from the foulness they contracted from the frequent repetition of their fire. From this incident, and the great superiority of the enemy, Colonel Rawlins was obliged to retire into the fort. The enemy having gained the heights, immediately pushed forward towards the fort, and took post behind a large storehouse, within a small distance of it.

"But to return to what passed at the first line towards New York. Intelligence having been received by Colonel Cadwalader, that the enemy were coming down Haerlem river in boats, to land in his rear, he detached Captain Lenox with fifty men, to oppose them, and, on further information, a hundred more, with Captains Edwards and Tudor. This force, with the addition of about the same number from Fort Washington, arrived on the heights near Morris's house, early enough to fire on the enemy in their boats, which was done with such effect, that about ninety were killed and wounded.

"This body of the enemy immediately advanced, and took possession of the grounds in advance of, and a little below, Morris's house. They hesitated; and this being perceived, from the delay that took place, Colonel Cadwalader, to avoid the fatal consequences that must have resulted from the expected movement, immediately resolved to retire to the fort, with the troops under his command; and pursuing the road which led to the fort, under the heights by the North river, arrived there with little or no loss."

*Un.* Now read Captain Graydon's personal observations.

*Wm.* "On the 16th of November, before daybreak, we were at our post in the lower lines of Haerlem

heights; that is, our regiment and Magaw's and some broken companies of Miles's and other battalions, principally from Pennsylvania. This might be called our right wing, and was under the command of Colonel Cadwalader; our left, extending to the Hudson above and on the north side of the fort towards Kingsbridge, was commanded by Colonel Rawlins of Maryland, who had there his own regiment of riflemen, and probably some other troops; though, as the position was narrow, numbers were not so essential to it, as to other parts of the general post. The front or centre extending a considerable distance along Haerlem river, was committed to the militia of the Flying Camp, and Colonel Magaw placed himself in the most convenient station for attending to the whole, having selected one or two officers to assist him as aids-de-camp. I think it was between seven and eight o'clock, when they gave us the first shot from one of their batteries on the other side of Haerlem river. It was well directed, at a cluster of us that were standing together observing their movements; but it fell short by about ten or fifteen yards, and bounded over the spot we had precipitately abandoned. In correcting this error they afterward shot too high, and did us no harm; at least, while I remained in this part of the field, which, though enfiladed or rather exposed in the rear, was too distant to be very seriously annoyed. They had better success in front, killing a man with a cannon ball, belonging to our piquets, which they drove in. Soon after, they approached the lines in great force under cover of a wood, in the verge of which they halted, and slowly began to form, giving us an occasional discharge from their artillery. Tired of the state of suspense in which we had remained for several hours, I proposed to Colonel Cadwalader, to throw myself with my

company into a small work or ravelin about two hundred yards in advance, for the purpose of annoying them as they came up. To this he assented, and I took possession of it; but found it was a work that had been little more than marked out, not knee high, and of course affording no cover. For this reason, after remaining in it a few minutes, with a view to impress my men with the idea that a breast-work was not absolutely necessary, I abandoned it, and returned into the intrenchment. This unimportant movement was treated with some respect: not knowing its meaning, it induced the troops that were in column, immediately to display; and the irregulars to open upon us a scattering fire. Soon after my return to the lines, it being observed that the enemy was extending himself towards the Hudson on our right, Colonel Cadwalader detached me thither with my company, with orders to post myself to the best advantage for the protection of that flank. I accordingly marched, and took my station at the extremity of the trench, just where the high grounds begin to decline towards the river. This situation, from the intervention of higher land, concealed from my view the other parts of the field; and thence disqualifies me from speaking of what passed there as an eye-witness; but that the action had begun in earnest, I was some time after informed by my sense of hearing: it was assailed by a most tremendous roar of artillery, quickly succeeded by incessant volleys of small arms, which seemed to proceed from the east and the north; and it was to these points, that General Howe chiefly directed his efforts. On receiving intelligence that embargos of British troops were about to be thrown across Haerlem river in his rear, Colonel Cadwalader made detachments from his position (already much too weakly manned) to meet this body of the

enemy, as yet unopposed by any part of our force. The first detachment arrived in time to open a fire upon the assailants before they reached the shore, and it was well directed and deadly. Nevertheless, their great superiority of force, adequately aided by artillery, enabled them to land, and, by extending themselves, to gain the heights. On this ground it was, that a sharp contest ensued ; speaking of which, in his official account of the action, General Howe says, ‘it was well defended by a body of the rebels ;’ and so it undoubtedly was, when it is considered that but one hundred and fifty of our men, with a single eighteen pounder, were opposed by eight hundred British troops under cover of a battery. But, over-powered by numbers, the resistance was ineffectual ; and the detachments engaged in it retired towards the fort. Rawlins, on his part, made a gallant stand against the Hessians under the command of General Knyphausen, to whom had been assigned the perilous glory of gaining this strong piece of ground, differing essentially from that on the borders of Haerlem river, in the want of opposite heights for batteries. The Germans here lost a great many men ; but as they had been bought by his Britan-nick majesty, he had an unquestionable right to make a free use of them ; and this seemed to be the conviction of General Howe. Rawlins also suffered a good deal in proportion to his numbers. He had, I think, two officers killed ; and himself, Major Williams, and some others, were wounded ; one of whom, a Mr. Hanson, died in New York. The attainment of the post of Rawlins, put the Hessians in possession of the ground which commanded the fort ; as that, possessed by the British, commanded the open field. Hence, the contest might be said to be at an end.

“ Colonel Cadwalader, aware that he was placed

between two fires; and that the victorious enemy in his rear, would soon extend themselves across the island, ordered a retreat just in time to prevent his interception."

"The first notice that I had of the intrenchment being given up, was from an officer I did not know, posted at some distance from me, going off with his men. I called to him to know what he meant. He answered, that he was making the best of his way to the fort, as the rest of the troops had retreated long since. As I had no reason to doubt his veracity, I immediately formed my company, and began to retire in good order, which is more than I can say of my neighbour or his corps; and amidst all the chagrin I afterward felt, that the events of the day had been so unpropitious to our glory, I had the satisfaction to reflect, that the men were always obedient, and ready to partake of any danger their officers would share with them. This, however, was but matter of inference; since I never was attacked, though continually fronted by a strong force, and incommoded by their ordnance, though without being injured by it. After proceeding some hundred paces, I reflected that I had no orders for what I was doing; and that, although I had no right to expect exactness, in a moment of such pressure, it was yet possible my movement might be premature. I knew nothing of what had passed in the centre, or of the enemy being master of the high grounds in my rear about Colonel Morris's house, from whom, no doubt, had proceeded the cannon balls that whizzed by us; and for which, coming in that direction, I could not account. To be entirely correct in my conduct, I here halted my men, and went myself to a rising ground at some distance, from which I might have a view of the lines where Colonel Cadwalader had been posted. They seemed thoroughly manned;

and at the instant, I beckoned to the officers to march back the company, which they immediately put in motion; but looking more attentively, I perceived that the people I saw, were British and Hessian troops that were eagerly pressing forward. Upon this, I hastened back to my party, and as there was no time to be lost, being in a situation to be cut to pieces by a corps of cavalry, I ordered them under the command of my ensign, to make the best of their way and join the body of men, which none doubted being our own, on the heights beyond the inner lines; and that I would follow them as fast as I could, for I was a good deal out of breath with the expedition I had used in going to and returning from the ground, which gave me a view of the outer lines. I accordingly walked on, accompanied by Forrest, who did not choose to leave me alone. The body I had pointed to and directed my company to join, under the idea of their being our own men, turned out to be the British, consisting of Colonel Stirling's division of Highlanders. Upon this discovery, we held a moment's consultation, and the result was, that, hemmed in as we were on every side, there was no chance of escaping; and that there was nothing left but to give ourselves up to them. Thus circumstanced, we clubbed our fusees in token of surrender, and continued to advance towards them. They either did not or would not take the signal; and though there were but two of us, from whom they could not possibly expect a design to attack, they did not cease firing at us. I may venture to say, that not less than ten guns were discharged with their muzzles towards us, within the distance of forty or fifty yards; and I might be nearer the truth in saying, that some were let off within twenty. Luckily for us, it was not our riflemen to whom we were targets; and it is astonishing how

even these *blunt* shooters could have missed us. But as we were ascending a considerable hill, they shot over us. I observed they took no aim, and that the moment of presenting and firing, was the same. As I had full leisure for reflection, and was perfectly collected, though fearful that their design was to give no quarter, I took off my hat with such a sweep of the arm as could not but be observed, without ceasing however to advance. This had the intended effect: a loud voice proceeded from the breastwork, and the firing immediately ceased. An officer of the forty-second regiment advanced towards us; and as I was foremost, he civilly accosted me by asking me my rank. Being informed of this, as also of Forrest's, he inquired where the fort lay and where Colonel Magaw was. I pointed in the direction of the fort, and told him I had not seen Colonel Magaw during the day. Upon this, he put us under the care of a sergeant and a few men, and left us. The sergeant was a decent looking man, who, on taking us into custody, bestowed upon us in broad Scotch the friendly admonition of, *Young men, ye should never fight against your king.* The little bustle produced by our surrender, was scarcely over, when a British officer, on horseback, apparently of high rank, rode up at full gallop, exclaiming, *What! taking prisoners! Kill them, kill every man of them.* My back was towards him when he spoke; and although, by this time, there was none of that appearance of ferocity in the guard, which would induce much fear that they would execute his command, I yet thought it well enough to parry it, and turning to him, I took off my hat, saying, *Sir, I put myself under your protection.* No man was ever more effectually rebuked. His manner was instantly softened: he met my salutation with an inclination of his body, and after a civil question

or two, as if to make amends for his sanguinary mandate, he rode off towards the fort, to which he had inquired the way.

"Though I had delivered up my arms, I had not adverted to a cartouch-box which I wore about my waist, and which, having once belonged to his Britannick majesty, presented, in front, the gilded letters G. R. Exasperated at this trophy on the body of a rebel, one of the soldiers seized the belt with great violence, and in the attempt to unbuckle it, had nearly jerked me off my legs. To appease the offended loyalty of the honest Scot, I submissively took it off and delivered it to him, being conscious that I had no longer any right to it. At this time a Hessian came up. He was not a private, neither did he look like a regular officer: he was some retainer, however, to the German troops; and was as much of a brute as any one I have ever seen in the human form. The wretch came near enough to elbow us; and half unsheathing his sword, with a countenance that bespoke a most vehement desire to use it upon us, he grinned out in broken English, *Eh, you rebel, you damn rebel!*

"These transactions, which occupied about ten minutes, passed upon the spot on which we were taken, whence we were marched to an old stable or out-house, where we found about forty or fifty prisoners already collected, principally officers. We remained on the outside of the building; and for nearly an hour sustained a series of most intolerable abuse. The term rebel, with the epithet *damned* before it, was the mildest we received. We were twenty times told, sometimes with a taunting affectation of concern, that we should every man of us be hanged; and were nearly as many times paraded with the most inconceivable insolence, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there were not some

deserters among us; and these were always sought for among the officers, as if the lowest fellow in their army was fit for any post in ours. ‘There’s a fellow,’ an upstart Cockney would exclaim, ‘that I could swear was a deserter.’ ‘What countryman are you, sir? did you not belong to such a regiment?’ I was not indeed challenged for a deserter; but the indignity of being ordered about by such contemptible whipsters, for a moment unmanned me, and I was obliged to apply my handkerchief to my eyes. This was the first time in my life, that I had been the victim of brutal, cowardly oppression; and I was unequal to the shock; but my elasticity of mind was soon restored, and I viewed it with the indignant contempt it deserved.

“For the greater convenience of guarding us, we were removed from this place, to the barn of Colonel Morris’s house, already mentioned, which had been the head-quarters of our army, as it now was of the royal one. This was the great bank of *deposite* for prisoners taken out of the fort; and already pretty well filled. It was a good new building, and we were ushered into it among the rest, the whole body consisting of from a hundred and fifty, to two hundred, composing a motley group to be sure. Here were men and officers of all descriptions, regulars and militia, troops continental and state, some in uniforms, some without them, and some in hunting shirts, the mortal aversion of a red coat. Some of the officers had been plundered of their hats, and some of their coats; and upon the new society into which we were introduced, with whom a showy exterior was all in all, we were certainly not calculated to make a very favourable impression.

“The officer who commanded the guard in whose custody we now were, was an ill-looking, low-bred fellow of this dashing corps of light-infantry. As

I stood as near as possible to the door for the sake of air, the enclosure in which we were being extremely crowded and unpleasant, I was particularly exposed to his brutality ; and repelling with some severity one of his attacks, for I was becoming desperate and careless of safety, the ruffian exclaimed, *Not a word, sir, or I'll give you my butt*, at the same time clubbing his fusee and drawing it back as if to give the blow. I fully expected it, but he contented himself with the threat. I observed to him that I was in his power, and disposed to submit to it, though not proof against every provocation.

" As to see the prisoners was a matter of some curiosity, we were complimented with a continual succession of visitants, consisting of officers of the British army. There were several of these present, when a sergeant-major came to take an account of us ; and particularly, a list of such of us as were officers. This sergeant, though not uncivil, had all that animated, degagee impudence of air, which belongs to a self-complacent non-commissioned officer of the most arrogant army in the world ; and with his pen in his hand and his paper on his knee, applied to each of us, in turn, for his rank. He had just set mine down, when he came to a little squat, militia officer from York county, who, somewhat to the deterioration of his appearance, had substituted the dirty crown of an old hat, for a plunder-worthy beaver that had been taken from him by a Hessian. He was known to be an officer from having been assembled among us, for the purpose of enumeration. *You are an officer, sir!* said the sergeant ; *Yes,* was the answer. *Your rank, sir !* with a significant smile. I am *a keppun*, replied the little man in a chuff, firm tone. Upon this, there was an immoderate roar of laughter among the officers about the

door, who were attending to the process; and I am not sure, I did not laugh myself.

"Although the day was seasonably cool, yet from the number crowded in the barn, the air within was oppressive and suffocating, which, in addition to the agitations of the day, had produced an excessive thirst; and there was a continual cry for water. I cannot say that this want was unattended to: the soldiers were continually administering to it by bringing water in a bucket. But though we, who were about the door, did well enough, the supply was very inadequate to such a number of mouths; and many must have suffered much. Our situation brought to my recollection that of Captain Holwell and his party, in the black hole at Calcutta; and had the weather been equally hot, we should not have been much better off."

*Un.* The subsequent personal adventures of this gentleman, the display of the prisoners as marched into New York, and other circumstances, are all interesting and well told; but we must cease our study for to-day, and take our usual exercise.









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